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TRAVELS

INTO

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK.

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

By WILLIAM COXE,

A. M. F. R. S. F. A. S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON, PREBENDARY OF SARUM,

AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

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TRAVELS

TRAVELS

INTO

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BOOK VII.

TRAVELS

INTO

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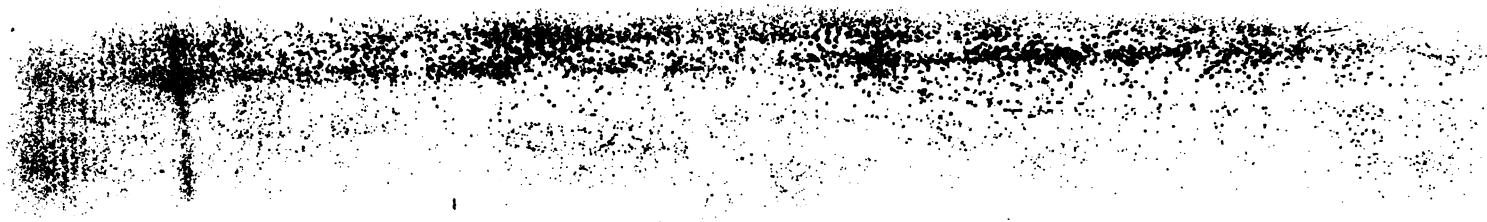
BOOK VII.



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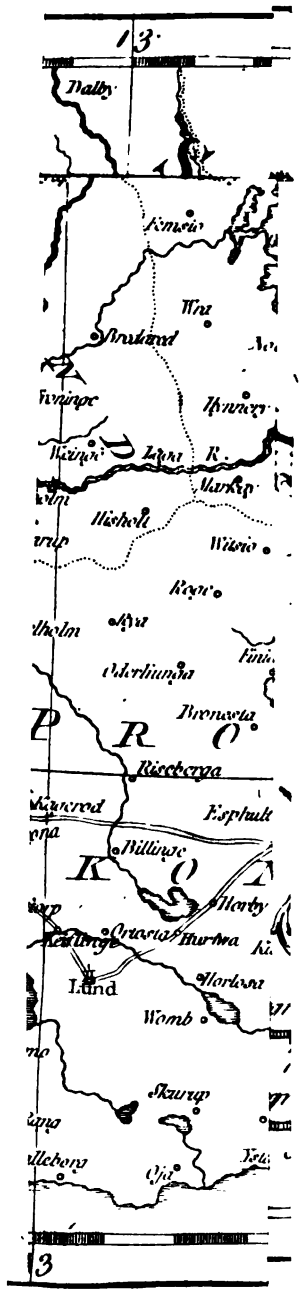

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GULF OF

BOTHNIA

A MAP of the Southern Provinces of SWEDEN.

By Thoˢ. Kitchin Senr.
Hydrographer to his Majesty.

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ee.
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Longitude E. from Greenwich.

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CHAP. I.

Entrance into Swediſh Finland.—Louiſa.—Helſingfors.—Abo.—*Journey in ſledges over part of the frozen ſurface of the* Gulf of Bothnia.—*Iſle of* Aland.—*Paſſage by ſea to the coaſt of* Sweden.—*Journey to* Stockholm.

THE limits of Ruſſia and Sweden, as ſettled by the peace of Abo, are formed by the river Kymen, on the ſouth ſide whereof was a wooden houſe, a rampart of earth, and a ſmall battery. Being admitted through a wooden barrier, guarded by a Ruſſian ſoldier, we croſſed a bridge to a ſmall iſland, paſſed another bridge over a ſtream which was a branch of the Kymen; and went through a ſecond barrier, at which ſtood a Swediſh centinel. In quitting the Ruſſian dominions, our baggage was ſlightly ſearched; and in entering Swediſh Finland, the ſame ceremony was performed by the cuſtom-houſe officers

of that diſtrict. Cloſe to the frontiers, we changed horſes at Lilla-Abborfors; and in leſs than an hour arrived at Louiſa.

Soon after our departure from Wiburgh, the weather changed from very near a thaw to a ſevere froſt; the mercury in the thermometer ſinking to 22 below freezing point. This ſudden alteration in the ſtate of the atmoſphere was in no wiſe diſagreeable: the warmth of our clothing enabled us to defy the moſt intenſe froſt; nor had I once occaſion to uſe all the coverings with which I had the precaution to provide myſelf. The face was the only part which I found difficult to ſecure againſt the attacks of the cold, and more particularly at night, when I was inclined to ſleep. In that ſtate I generally covered my cheeks and forehead with the flaps of my velvet cap, leaving only my noſe and mouth free for reſpiration; and over them I ſometimes held my muff, or placed my handkerchief; which was attended with this inconvenience: as the breath inſtantly congealed, the parts of the muff or handkerchief, in contact with my mouth, became in a ſhort time ſo clotted with icicles, that I was obliged repeatedly to change their poſition, in order to prevent an accumulation of the frozen particles.

Louiſa

Louiſa is an open town upon a bay of the Gulf of Finland; and is guarded towards the ſea by a ſmall fortreſs. The houſes are all of wood, and of two ſtories; they are painted with a red colour, and look much neater than thoſe of the common towns and villages in Ruſſia. Soon after our arrival we waited upon the governor to obtain an order for poſt horſes, and to procure information with reſpect to our intended route to Stockholm. In ſummer, travellers, in paſſing from Peterſburgh to the capital of Sweden, commonly go by land to Abo: there they take ſhip, and, ſteering through the numerous iſlands which riſe in that part of the Gulf of Bothnia to the eaſtern ſhore of Aland, they croſs that iſland to its weſtern coaſt; where they again embark, and proceed directly through a more open ſea to Sweden. In winter, the paſſage acroſs the Gulf is not always practicable; for the channels between the numberleſs iſlands are moſtly frozen, ſo as not to admit veſſels, yet ſeldom ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport carriages; and, when that happens, the remaining part of the open gulf, from Aland to the coaſt of Sweden, which is not ſprinkled with iſlands, is generally ſo embarraſſed with floating maſſes of ice, as to render the navigation extremely dangerous.

The uſual way, therefore, in winter, and which we intended to have purſued, lies round the Gulf of Bothnia through Torneo. We had anticipated the ſatisfaction we ſhould receive from paſſing a few days at a place rendered remarkable for the meaſurement of a degree by the celebrated Maupertuis; from making an excurſion into Lapland beyond the Arctic Circle; from obſerving the manners and cuſtoms of the natives; and from riding in ſledges drawn by rein-deer. But, alas! our curioſity was deſtined not to be gratified. Upon conſulting the governor of Louiſa, he informed us, that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to proceed into Lapland; for if a general thaw ſhould take place, which ſeemed very likely to happen, we ſhould not be able to continue our route in ſledges; and as we could not procure any carriages with wheels to convey us to Stockholm, we ſhould be obliged to proceed by ſea, which in the ſpring of the year is a very dangerous and uncertain navigation. He added alſo; that the paſſage acroſs the Gulf of Bothnia was at this time fortunately practicable; as the channels between the ſmall iſlands were ſufficiently frozen to bear ſledges, and the other part of the Gulf was not obſtructed with floating maſſes of ice. And

when the governor perceived that, notwithſtanding the favourable opportunity of croſſing the Gulf of Bothnia, and the dangers which would neceſſarily attend our journey by land, we ſeemed eager to purſue our expedition to Lapland, he preſſed his advice with the moſt forcible reaſons; and would not deſiſt until he had even extorted a promiſe that we would proceed directly to Abo. The gentleman to whom we were indebted for this friendly remonſtrance, was a ſenſible well-informed old man, of Scotch extraction; and had ſerved during ſeveral years in France in the Royal Swediſh regiment. During a long converſation which we held with him, "You have "probably," he ſaid, "conceived a bad opi- "nion of Finland, from the regions which "you have already traverſed, which are the "moſt deſolate parts of the province; but I "aſſure you, that a few miles from the ſea- "coaſt it is a very agreeable country, fertile "in paſture, rye, oats, and barley. From the "abundance of rivers and lakes, ſome of "which are of conſiderable length, an inland "navigation might eaſily be formed at little "expence, and facilitate a communication "between the different diſtricts."

Feb. 9. In purſuance of his advice, inſtead of continuing our route towards Lapland, we made our way to Abo. We ſet off at eight in the evening, and were lighted during the whole night by a beautiful *Aurora Borealis*: the thermometer was ſcarcely below freezing point. Our road lay near the ſhore of the Gulf of Bothnia, through a hilly, rocky, and woody country. I obſerved the ground thickly ſtrewed with detached maſſes of granite, as if broken by ſome violent convulſion. We frequently ſaw large flights of grouſe, black cocks, and ptarmigans. In theſe parts the large ſpecies of grouſe, called the cock of the wood, a bird almoſt equal in ſize to a ſmall turkey, is not uncommon; the moor-fowl and ptarmigans are very plentiful; but the black game is ſo abundant, that we ſeldom ſat down to dinner, even at the commoneſt inns, without being regaled with a brace of thoſe delicious birds. Having paſſed ſeveral large lakes, with which the country abounds, and croſſed the frozen ſurface of a bay of the Gulf of Finland, we arrived on the enſuing morning at Helſingfors, which ſtands in a very romantic ſituation, upon a riſing ſhore, near ſeveral rocks and huge fragments of granite.

Agreeably

Agreeably to an invitation from the governor of Helſingfors, to whom we applied for further information reſpecting our paſſage acroſs the Gulf of Bothnia, we repaired in the evening to a ball: the gentlemen and ladies all wore the new Swediſh dreſs *; and amuſed themſelves chiefly with minuets and Engliſh country-dances. The company were very polite and attentive to us, and ſeveral accoſted us in French.

Cloſe to Helſingfors is a ſmall fort, called Ulricaberg, capable of containing 200 men; and at a little diſtance another was erecting, in October 1784, named Scatander Tyg, which will hold a garriſon of 400 ſoldiers.

But one of the moſt curious and important fortreſſes in the Swediſh dominions, and perhaps in Northern Europe, is Sveaborg, ſituated near Helſingfors in Finland. In my former tour we were not permitted to viſit this fortreſs for want of an order from the court; but we were more fortunate in our ſecond journey through theſe parts; his Swediſh majeſty himſelf having condeſcended to command the prime miniſter, Count Creutz, to give us an order for

* See the deſcription and engravings of theſe dreſſes in the next chapter II.

that

that purpoſe. In conſequence of this paſſport, the governor of the fortreſs ſent his boat to convey us to the fortreſs, and did us the honour to accompany us himſelf round the works, and to point out what was moſt remarkable.

About three miles and an half from the town of Helſingfors are ſeveral ſmall rocky iſlands in the Gulf of Finland, which compoſe the fortreſs of Sveaborg. They have been lately fortified, in order to maintain a fleet in conſtant readineſs to ſail, and to contain a garriſon in caſe Finland ſhould be invaded.

The iſlands, which compoſe this fortreſs, are ſeven in number, and all lie within the circumference of four miles, in the following direction: 1. Long-ön, or Long Iſland, lies S. W. and is the neareſt to Helſingfors; it is 600 feet in length, and 300 in breadth. 2. Waſter Swart-ön, or Weſt Black Iſland, S. E. of Long-ön; 1,400 feet in length, and 800 in breadth. 3. Lilla Swart-ön, or Little Black Iſland, Eaſt of Waſter Swart; 800 feet ſquare. 4. Oſter Swart-ön, or Eaſt Black Iſland, Eaſt of Lilla Swart; 3,000 feet in length, and 1,600 in breadth. 5. Warg-ön, or Wolf's Iſland, lying in the center between Waſter and

and Lilla Swartz-ön; 2,400 feet in length, and 2,000 in breadth. It is the principal iſland, and contains the governor's houſe. 6. Guſtaf's Ward, or the Arms of Guſtavus, S. E. of Warg-ön; 1,600 feet in length, and 1,200 in breadth. 7. Skantz Landet, or Land-fortreſs, South of Guſtaf's Ward, an iſland as big as both Warg-ön and Oſter Swart-ön, but of which only 600 feet are to be fortified.

The project of furrounding theſe iſlands with fortifications was formed by General Ehrenſwald, and the work was begun in 1748. £.750,000 have been already expended, and to complete the remainder will require above £.500,000.

It is computed, that the whole might be finiſhed in about ſix years, if ſufficient money could be obtained for that purpoſe; but according to the ſlow manner in which the work is now carrying on, a century muſt elapſe before its completion.

The works are really ſtupendous and worthy of the ancient Romans. The walls of the fortifications are chiefly of hewn granite, covered with earth, and are from ſix to ten feet thick, and in a few places not leſs than 48 in height. The batteries, which begin upon a level

level with the water, and riſe in tiers one above the other in all directions, commanding the only channel through which large veſſels can ſail to Helſingfors, render the paſſage of the enemy's fleet extremely dangerous, if not impracticable.

In Warg-ön is a dry dock, which is capable of containing ten frigates. It is hollowed in the ſolid rock, is 800 feet long, 200 broad, and about fourteen deep. It is divided into three equal parts by two brick walls, which run lengthways; each part contains four frigates, and may be cloſed with ſluice-gates, ſo that each veſſel lies ſeparately from the others. The whole is covered with a wooden penthouſe roof, in order to preſerve the frigates from the rain. When I was there this baſon contained eleven frigates, which, in caſe of war, would be removed by letting in the water, and opening the ſluice-gates.

At one extremity of this dock is a ſmall baſon 200 feet ſquare, cloſed at each end with ſluice-gates, which ſerves for the entrance and exit of the frigates, and likewiſe for repairing or building ſhips. At the other extremity another baſon was quite finiſhed of the ſame dimenſions with the former, for a man of war. This baſon may likewiſe ſerve for the paſſage

of the frigates, whenever the other is employed in repairing or building ſhips. The magazines for the ſhips ſtores and artillery are built cloſe to the edge of the water, which is of ſufficient depth to admit each veſſel to lie cloſe to the quay, and be equipped without further trouble.

There is an excellent port for 70 ſhips of the line, and a ſmall harbour no leſs ſecure for ten frigates.

The garriſon, in the month of October 1784, conſiſted of 350 ſoldiers and 600 marines; but when the whole fortifications are completed, will require 12,000 men.

For the purpoſe of building ſhips at Sveaborg, the Swedes procure the oak from Gothland, part of the flax from Finland, hemp and maſts from Riga. Such, in October 1784, was the ſtate of the fortifications of Sveaborg; a fortreſs, which, even in its preſent unfiniſhed ſtate, will be capable of harraſſing the Ruſſians in caſe of a war, and which, if ever it ſhould be completed, may juſtly be called the Gibraltar of the north.

Feb. 11. We quitted Helſingfors on the morning, and arrived at Abo, which is diſtant about 150 miles, on the evening of the 12th, through a tract of country that ſeemed better peopled than the other parts of Finland which we

we had hitherto traverſed; and which was diverſified with a beautiful mixture of hill and dale.

Abo, the capital of Swediſh Finland, called by the Fins *Turcu*, lies upon the point where the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland unite: it is ſingularly ſituated, partly on a ridge of precipitous rocks, and partly in a ſmall plain, on the banks of the ſmall river Aura. A craggy eminence, over-hanging the town, commands a curious view of the caſtle, the Gulf of Finland, interſperſed with numerous rocky iſlands, and the wild and barren environs. The town, which is not ill built, contains ſeveral brick houſes, but the generality are of wood painted red. The inhabitants export linen, corn, planks, and iron.

We had ſcarcely arrived, when the burgomaſter of the town obligingly waited upon us; and on the following morning conducted us to the univerſity, which was founded in 1640 by Chriſtina, and endowed with the ſame privileges as that of Upſala. There are fifteen profeſſors, and about 300 ſtudents. The library contains near 10,000 volumes, a catalogue of which was printed in 1655, and a ſecond edition in 1685*. The books were,

* Arckenholtz Memoires de Chriſtine, Tom. II. p. 309.

in

in 1719, removed to Stockholm, when the Ruſſians obtained poſſeſſion of the town; and were again reſtored to the univerſity upon the peace of Nyſtadt. There is alſo a ſchool at Abo, which was founded by Guſtavus Adolphus, for 300 ſcholars.

A botanical garden, founded in 1776 by his preſent majeſty, contained, in 1784, fifteen hundred exotics, and about the ſame number of indigenous plants; a liſt of which has been lately given to the public by the preſent profeſſor.

In the cathedral, a large brick building, conſtructed in 1300, is the ſepulchre of Catharine, the favourite miſtreſs and wife of Eric the Fourteenth, who ſurvived her unfortunate lord five-and-thirty years; and died at Liuxdal in 1612, in the 64th year of her age *.

Near Abo is the caſtle or ancient palace, formerly the occaſional reſidence of the Swediſh ſovereigns, when they viſited theſe parts. It ſtands upon the mouth of the Aura, and where the large veſſels, which cannot paſs to Abo, lie at anchor. The caſtle is a large brick building, plaiſtered white. On the weſt

* See an account of Catharine, Chap. IX.

ſide

ſide is a ſquare tower, looking towards the Gulf of Bothnia; in an apartment of which Eric the Fourteenth was for ſome time impriſoned. This palace has been lately converted into a diſtillery for ſpirituous liquors.

Feb. 13. About 40 miles from Abo we arrived upon the Gulf of Bothnia; and paſſed over the frozen ſurface along a track marked with two rows of ſmall trees and boughs placed upright in the ice as a direction for travellers: we croſſed occaſionally ſeveral ſmall iſlands and rocks, ſeparated from each other by ſtraits from fifty yards to four or five miles in breadth. At midnight we ſtopped upon the iſland Variſala till break of day; as well from the dread of large holes in the ice which render travelling by night extremely hazardous; as becauſe our danger would have been extreme, if we had wandered from the path, and been loſt upon the wide expanſe of ice; which had nearly happened to colonel Floyd, as he thus deſcribes in his journal. "A "cowardly driver overturned me into the "ſnow, but the fall was gentle. Night came "on, at firſt very much overcaſt, but after-"wards illuminated by an *Aurora Borealis*, "which was, however, not in ſtreaks like "thoſe uſually in England, but a continued "glare

" glare of red light. We arrived at length " upon the Gulf, croſſed a ſheet of ice many " miles in length, and ſome ſmall rocky " iſlands, upon one of which my driver ſud- " denly turned into the yard of a peaſant's " cottage, and ſtopped. I ſoon perceived that " he had loſt his way: inquiry being in vain " on my part, as I could not ſpeak the lan- " guage, I encouraged him, by ſigns to en- " deavour to regain the track; he complied, " but with ſuch ill-humour, that he drove " againſt a rock, and again overſet me, though " fortunately without any bad conſequence; " he then paſſed by a narrow way through a " wood, and ſoon arrived at the edge of the " iſland. I liſtened eagerly for the ſound of " the other ſledges, but to no purpoſe; then, " anxiouſly looking around me, I deſcried at " ſome diſtance the boughs which mark the " road over the ice; and, inſtantly pointing " it out, we purſued the path, and after ſeveral " miles overtook my companions, determined " never again to loſe ſight of the laſt ſledge. In " croſſing, however, another iſland, the ſledge " which immediately preceded mine ſuddenly " ſtopped: we had again loſt the way, but " ſoon recovered it, and joined the party."

Upon Variſala we found a comfortable village; the inhabitants were Finns, and ſpoke only the Finniſh tongue.

Feb. 14. We ſet out early: the weather was hazy and unpromiſing, and a ſtrong breeze began to freſhen. The poſt was about 18 miles in length: we paſſed many ſmall iſlands and rocks; ſome covered with underwood, and ſprinkled with villages; others were nothing but bare granite, without a ſingle habitation or tree. In a few places the ice of the Gulf was a ſmooth ſheet; in others it was roughly frozen in waves and large maſſes. The vaſt extended plain of ice, broken in abrupt ridges, the boundleſs and dreary track marked only by a line of trees and boughs, and the rugged rocks ſtarting up on every ſide, afforded one of the moſt deſolate ſcenes imaginable.

We changed horſes at Brando, an iſland which contained ſix or ſeven villages; a church; ſome arable land; and ſmall woods. About three we arrived upon the iſland Kumblinge, 36 miles from Variſala; and as the next poſt was above thirty miles; we prudently took up our quarters in a peaſant's cottage, rather than again encounter the hazards of a journey by night. The peaſants were well clothed; the men wore long cloth coats lined with

ſheep-ſkin; the women a ſtriped kind of woollen ſtuff, of mixed colours, chiefly green, white, and red: they ſeemed very honeſt; and our ſervants had no occaſion to employ the ſame vigilance in watching the luggage as was requiſite in Ruſſia *. The cottages were built like thoſe in Ruſſia, with whole trees piled one upon the other, and mortaiſed and tenanted at each extremity; the timbers of ſeveral were ſawed on the outſide in the form of planks. They generally contain two or three apartments, ſmall, but neat and clean; have all brick chimnies, and a ſemicircular fire-place high and narrow, in which the wood is placed upright, and by means of birch-bark inſtantaneouſly kindled. The villagers poſſeſſed many conveniences of life, which we did not meet with in Ruſſia; particularly beds, and a greater variety of houſehold furniture.

While our dinner was preparing, we ſtrolled to a windmill ſituated on an eminence; from whence we commanded a full view of the iſland, which ſeemed a huge pile of rocks of red and grey granite. Near the village we obſerved three or four fields which had been ſown with rye, and at a little diſtance a ſmall

* See Vol. I. p. 338.

wood of firs and birch; in the other parts we could diſcover nothing but juniper and moſs. Beſide the hut in which we were lodged, it contained a church and a few ſcattered cottages. The inhabitants of Kumblinge ſpoke the Swediſh language. The ſevere froſt of the preceding day was ſucceeded by a ſudden thaw, accompanied with rain and ſleet; and in the evening a violent hurricane came on; we heard on all ſides the cracking of the ice ſounding like the exploſions of thunder, and which alarmed us with the dread of being detained in ſo dreary a ſpot: for if, as we had reaſon to apprehend, the ice had been broken up, it could not have been paſſed in ſledges; and a continuance of the thaw for a fortnight at leaſt would have been requiſite, before any communication by water could have been formed with the continent or neighbouring iſlands. The wind increaſing to a moſt violent degree towards midnight, and the noiſe from the burſting of the ice redoubling, we imagined that a conſiderable delay was unavoidable; and began to inquire whether the inhabitants were furniſhed with ſufficient proviſions to ſupply our wants and their own. We were happy to find that four cows, a few hogs, and poultry, and a large ſtore of hard

hard bread, which they bake twice in the year, were more than ſufficient to remove all apprehenſions of famine during a much longer period than we were likely to remain upon the iſland. Fortunately, however, we did not put theſe reſources to the trial: towards morning the wind ſubſided, and the rents in the ice not appearing dangerous, we were able to continue our route at ſun-riſe. It was a moſt delightful day; in the morning the mercury in the thermometer ſtood at two degrees above freezing point, and at noon roſe to five; the ſun ſhone with ſuch brightneſs, and the weather was ſo clear and warm, that we might almoſt have imagined it to have been ſummer, if we had not been undeceived by the frozen maſs around us. On the preceding day the whole ſcenery was uniformly enveloped with ſnow, which having been melted, the ſurface of the Gulf became a pure expanſe of ice: the diſtance to the next poſt was about 35 miles, and much leſs diverſified with iſlands than the parts which we had paſſed previous to our arrival at Kumblinge. In one place we traverſed a level ſheet of ice, at leaſt ten miles in length, unbroken with a ſingle rock or iſland; but as the late ſtorm had produced ſeveral apertures, and as

the thaw greatly increaſed, we went on with caution; and were preceded by a guide, who carried a hatchet and plumbing iron; with the former he occaſionally cut the ice, and with the latter he meaſured its thickneſs; in order to aſcertain whether it was ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport our ſledges. In ſome places he made a conſiderable circuit to avoid an aperture; often called out to the drivers to keep at ſome diſtance from each other; and repeatedly warned them to follow the preciſe track which he purſued. In this manner he conducted us in about eight hours, and without the leaſt accident, to the iſle of Aland.

Aland, which gives to this cluſter of iſlands the general appellation of the Iſles of Aland, is about 40 miles in length, and from 12 to 16 in breadth: it contains about fifteen villages, and 9000 inhabitants; they ſpeak the Swediſh language, but are included in the government of Finland, both as to ſpiritual and temporal affairs. The baſis of the ſoil ſeemed to be granite, of the ſame nature with the ſhores of Finland, and of the numerous iſlands which we had lately traverſed; and the whole aſſemblage of them looked like a ridge of rocks, which had been once joined to each

each other and to the continent, but undermined and ſeparated by the ſea.

We changed horſes at Varyat, Scarpats, Harolſby, Enkerby, and Trebenka, between Scarpats and Harolſby we deſcended into a broader and more cultivated plain than we had obſerved ſince we had quitted Finland: it contained arable and paſture land, a lake, and a river. In the midſt of this plain ſtand, upon an inſular rock of red granite, the ruins of an antient palace, called Caſtelholm, which, as it is remarkable in the hiſtory of Sweden, we ſtopped to examine. It commands a pleaſing, though bounded proſpect of two ſmall lakes, whoſe banks riſe into gentle eminences ſkirted with wood. The caſtle is partly built with red granite of a very beautiful colour and grain, and partly with brick. To this ſolitary rock, Eric XIV. ſon and ſucceſſor of Guſtavus Vaſa, was, in 1571, confined by his brother John III. The dungeon, in which he was impriſoned, ſtill bears the name of the apartment of Eric. In order to gain acceſs to it, we crawled through an arch upon our hands and knees, on account of the heaps of ſtones and bricks which obſtructed the paſſage: we then came into the ſhell of a large apartment, from whence we entered a ſmall

room; and having aſcended a ladder of nine or ten ſteps, many of which were broken, and which from its antiquity was probably the very ladder that exiſted in the days of the royal priſoner, we paſſed through a trap-door into the apartment of Eric. It is about 20 feet long and 11 broad; low and vaulted; and has only one ſmall opening to admit the light, which is ſcarcely more than two inches in breadth. I ſhall have occaſion in another place to mention the ſufferings and cataſtrophe of this very unfortunate ſovereign.

Having gratified our curioſity at Caſtelholm, we continued our route during the night: the ſnow being all melted by the thaw, our journey was tedious and diſagreeable; our ſledges were ſlowly dragged over the rocky and ſandy roads; ſo that we did not, before five in the morning, reach the place of embarkation upon the weſtern ſhore of the iſland. The wind blowing directly contrary, we took up our lodging at the poſt-houſe, and retired reluctantly to reſt; but were awakened about ten, with the agreeable news that it was ſhifted, and that we might be able to croſs the Gulf. The only decked veſſel which this place afforded being ice-bound, we had no other reſource but two open boats, manned with

with a pilot, five or ſix fiſhermen, and about ten peaſants; but, as the weather was fine, we ordered our baggage on board, and embarked at mid-day. The diſtance to the oppoſite coaſt is 40 miles. The firſt part of this paſſage was interſperſed with ſeveral ſmall rocky iſlands, one of which appeared inhabited; but from the extremity of the laſt iſland, which is about 26 miles from the continent of Sweden, the ſea is entirely open. From that point we had a fine breeze, which carried us at the rate of ſeven knots in the hour; and we were within ſix miles of the coaſt about ſun-ſet, with the proſpect of a ſpeedy diſembarkation; but ſoon afterwards the breeze ſlackened, and was followed by a calm, which laſted about half an hour; when the wind roſe in the oppoſite quarter, and blew directly from ſhore. In this ſituation the night overtook us; the gale freſhened; the ſea ran high; the coaſt was rocky and full of breakers; our veſſel a crazy open fiſhing boat; and the greateſt part of our crew wholly unexperienced. We in vain endeavoured by tacking and rowing to reach the ſhore; and we began to be ſeriouſly alarmed, leſt we ſhould not be able to weather the ſtorm: in this ſtate of anxiety we continued until midnight, the gale hourly increaſing; when

at

at length by a fortunate tack and inceſſant rowing, we got under the lee of a high coaſt: we inſtantly hauled down the ſails, and rowed for a conſiderable time, though ſtill without being able, on account of the breakers, to find a proper place for landing. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, we at laſt drove the boat upon ſhore; and diſembarking, after much pains, upon a ſhelving hill of ice, we crawled upon our hands and knees; and gained the land, though with much difficulty. We here eſcaped a danger, which at the time we did not apprehend; as we were afterwards informed that theſe ſhelves of ice are frequently full of large holes, into which had we fallen we muſt inevitably have periſhed. Having providentially eſcaped theſe and other perils, we procured a guide from an adjacent cottage; and proceeded to Griſlehamn, about the diſtance of three miles. We walked through woody and rugged ways, half melted ice, ſometimes above our ancles in water, repeatedly falling down, but exceedingly happy that we were upon land: for we heard the wind blowing very boiſterouſly, and the breakers roaring with increaſing violence. About three in the morning we arrived at the inn; and at five, the other bark, containing our ſervants and baggage,

baggage, landed with ſtill greater difficulty than we had experienced, and after having narrowly eſcaped being wrecked upon the rocks: the ſailors were ſo terrified that they cried; and our courier was inceſſantly employed in croſſing himſelf, and exclaiming, "*Domine, non ſum dignus mori.*" "Lord, I am "not worthy to die *."

Feb.

* The numerous ſhoals and rocky iſlands render this paſſage extremely dangerous at all ſeaſons of the year, whenever the wind is high or the ſea rough; and this danger is increaſed by the unſkilfulneſs of the ſailors, and the frail condition of the open boats employed on theſe occaſions. In my ſecond expedition into the north, in 1784, I paſſed from Griſlehamn to Abo, and was again expoſed to ſome difficulties.

October 16. We embarked at Griſlehamn at ſix in the morning, and a favourable breeze carried us in leſs than three hours and a half to the ſmall iſle of Eckeru, diſtant about 36 miles from the coaſt of Sweden. From Eckeru we ferried over the bay of Markſund to Fredenby, on the iſle of Aland, and croſſed that iſland to Bomarſund, a ſmall village at its eaſtern extremity. From that place there are two paſſages to Abo; the one is to ferry over the ſeveral ſtraits and firths to Kumblinge, Brando, and ſeveral other ſmall iſlands, to the continent of Finland, about ſix miles from Abo; the other is to proceed the whole way by ſea from Bomerſund to Abo. As the removal of our carriage from the ſeveral boats at the numerous ferries would have been attended with unavoidable delays in the former paſſage, we preferred the latter, and accordingly hired two open boats to convey us directly to Abo.

The

Feb. 18. As the ſnow had totally diſappeared, the dragging of our ſledges over the bare ground was a work of ſuch difficulty and labour;

The next morning we embarked at ſeven, and were expeditiouſly carried forwards by a ſide breeze. But as the wind blew freſh, and the ſea ran high, a Swediſh gentleman, whom we had accidentally met at Griſlehamn, and who had deſired to accompany us to Abo, was ſuddenly alarmed; and communicating his fears to the boatmen, prevailed upon them to land upon Long Iſland, about four miles from Bomerſund. Here they continued three hours upon the beach, reſiſting all our importunities and offers to induce them to proceed. The wind at length ſomewhat abating, they were prevailed upon to ſet ſail; but in a ſhort time the ſailors (if they deſerve that appellation) were ſoon again ſeriouſly alarmed, and their panic was ſtill farther increaſed by the terrors of the Swediſh gentleman, who, like Gonzalo in the Tempeſt, "would have given a thouſand "furlongs of ſea for an acre of barren ground, long heath, "brown furze, or any thing."

At length, the maſt cracking towards the bottom, the boatmen took down the ſail, and put in at a little iſland, or rather rock, where we all landed.

It was now two o'clock; and as the ſailors declared their reſolution of not venturing again to ſea till the wind abated, we had the proſpect of paſſing the night on this dreary ſpot. We accordingly examined our ſtation. It was a ſmall rocky iſland of red granite, about a quarter of a mile in circumference, yielding a few blades of ruſſet-graſs, and twenty or thirty ſtubbed trees; expoſed on all ſides to "the pitileſs winds," and ſurrounded by inhabitable crags ſtarting up in the midſt of the waves.

Having

labour; that, notwithſtanding we began our journey about ten in the morning, and travelled till duſk; we were ſcarcely able to reach the village of Staby, which was diſtant only 20 miles from Griſlehamn; although half the route lay over large lakes and flooded marſhes, where we ſtill found the ice ſufficiently ſtrong. The experience of this day's journey convinced us to what a wretched ſituation we ſhould have been reduced, if we had

Having landed our proviſions, we made a comfortable meal on ſome cold ham and chicken, collected ſome branches, kindled a fire, and felled two trees, in order to ſupply us with fuel during the cold night we were preparing to paſs in ſo deſerted a ſpot. Towards evening, however, we fortunately overcame the obſtinacy of the boatmen, and prevailed upon them by importunities and money to re-embark before it was duſk: but as they were apprehenſive of truſting their little bark to the open ſea as far as Kumblinge, the neareſt habitation in the way to Abo, they returned to Long Iſland, and landed us about ſeven at a neat village called Oſterwick, where we found good beds and tolerable accommodations, greatly enhanced by comparing our ſituation with that of the deſert iſland we had recently quitted, on which we expected to have paſſed a moſt comfortleſs night.

The next morning a gentle but favourable breeze carried us above ſeventy miles, through narrow ſtraits, between numerous iſlands, and rocky coaſts, wild yet ſprinkled with trees, to a ſmall village on the peninſula of Finland, about two miles from Abo.

purſued

purſued our courſe towards Lapland; and reminded us, how much we were indebted to the ſalutary remonſtrances of the governor of Louiſa.

We paſſed the night at Staby; and, as we found it impracticable to proceed any longer in ſledges, continued our journey the next morning in open carts, the only carriages we were able to procure. In this manner we journeyed to Stockholm; where, on account of various delays, we did not arrive until the following evening.

The diſtance from Griſlehamn, the place of our diſembarkation, to Stockholm, is above eighty miles; yet the country was ſo thinly peopled, that we did not paſs through one town. The villages were few and ſmall, but very pictureſque, being moſtly ſituated upon the points of the craggy rocks, and frequently overhanging a lake. Many ſtraggling cottages and houſes were pleaſantly ſcattered over the face of the country, which was in general hilly, rocky, and covered with foreſts, corn, and paſture. After the dreary ſcenes which we had long been accuſtomed to, the herbage, juſt recovered from the ſnow under which it had been buried during the whole winter, was a grateful object; and it was remarkable,

markable, that both the graſs and blades of young corn had contracted a yellowiſh hue, and appeared as if they had been parched by a burning ſun. As we approached the capital, the country was extremely wild and rocky, and ſtill more thinly inhabited: I ſcarcely ever obſerved a more deſolate, yet more picturesque, region than the environs of Stockholm. We entered that city on the evening of the 20th of February; and immediately drove to an inn in the center of the town; where we met with excellent apartments, and every accommodation we could deſire, to alleviate the fatigues of our late journey.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Deſcription of Stockholm. — *Preſentation to the king.* — *Court.* — *New* Swediſh *dreſs.* — *Public ſuppers.* — *Royal family.* — *Tombs and characters of* Magnus Ladiſlas, Charles Canutſon, Guſtavus Adolphus, Charles XI. *and* XII. — *Royal Academy of Sciences.* — *Its tranſactions.* — *Schools.* — *Converſation with a* Laplander *on the general ſtate of* Lapland. — *Similarity between the* Hungarian *and* Lapland *languages.* — Drottningholm. — *Additional remarks.*

THE foundation of Stockholm * is, by the beſt Swediſh writers, generally attributed to Birger Jarl, regent of the kingdom, about the middle of the 13th century, during the minority of his ſon Waldemar, who had been raiſed to the throne by the ſtates of the

* The reader who is fond of ſuch inquiries, may conſult Dalins Geſchichte von Sweden, Vol. II. p. 178, upon the derivation of the appellation of Stockholm, where he will find how many abſurd etymologies may be given to the word Stock.

kingdom;

A PLAN of the CITY

of

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kingdom; but it was not before the laſt century that the royal reſidence was transferred from Upſala to this city.

During the courſe of my travels, I have ſeen no town with whoſe ſituation I was ſo much ſtruck as with that of Stockholm, for its ſingular and romantic ſcenery. This capital, which is very long and irregular, occupies, beſide two peninſulas, ſeven ſmall rocky iſlands, ſcattered in the Mæler, in the ſtreams which iſſue from that lake, and in a bay of the Baltic. A variety of contraſted and enchanting views are formed by numberleſs rocks of granite riſing boldly from the ſurface of the water, partly bare and craggy, partly dotted with houſes, or feathered with wood. The harbour is an inlet of the Baltic: the water is of ſuch depth that ſhips of the largeſt burthen can approach the quay, which is of conſiderable breadth, and lined with ſpacious buildings and warehouſes. At the extremity of the harbour ſeveral ſtreets riſe one above another in the form of an amphitheatre; and the palace, a magnificent building, crowns the ſummit. Towards the ſea, about two or three miles from the town, the harbour is contracted into a narrow ſtrait, and, winding among high rocks, diſappears from the ſight; and the proſ-

pect is terminated by diſtant hills, overſpread with foreſt. It is far beyond the power of words, or of the pencil, to delineate theſe ſingular views. The central iſland, from which the city derives its name, and the Riddarholm, are the handſomeſt parts of the town. Excepting in the ſuburbs, where ſeveral houſes are of wood painted red, the generality of the buildings are of ſtone, or brick ſtuccoed white. The royal palace, which ſtands in the center of Stockholm, and upon the higheſt ſpot of ground, was begun by Charles XI.: it is a large quadrangular ſtone edifice; and the ſtyle of architecture is both elegant and magnificent. The traveller, who is fond of the pictureſque in nature, will be charmed with many delightful points of view; but with none more than that from an eminence in the South ſuburbs, called the Mount of Moſes. From this enchanting ſpot, the ſpectator commands a bird's-eye view, almoſt unparalleled in its kind, of the city and its various iſles, of the harbour, the channel, and the lake Mæler, forming an aſſemblance of rocks, houſes, wood, ſhips, and water, in all the variety of rugged, beautiful, and romantic ſcenery.

Feb. 23. At ſeven in the evening we accompanied the Engliſh miniſter, Sir Thomas Wroughton,

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C. Ruotte fecit.

A SWEDISH GENTLEMAN in the COURT DRESS.

Published according to Act of Parliament, Jan.y 1.st 1784. by T. Cadell, in the Strand.

Ch. Ruotte sculp. Londini.

A SWEDISH LADY in the COURT DRESS.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan.y 1.st 1784. by T. Cadell in the Strand.

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Wroughton, to court, to have the honour of being preſented to Guſtavus III. All the company in the drawing-room, the foreign miniſters and ourſelves excepted, wore the national habit lately introduced into this country by his preſent Majeſty. The dreſs of the men reſembles the old Spaniſh, and conſiſts of a ſhort coat, or rather jacket, a waiſtcoat, a cloak, a hat with a feather *à la Henry IV.* a ſaſh round the waiſt, a ſword, large and full breeches, and roſes in the ſhoes: the cloak is of black cloth edged with red ſattin; the coat or jacket, and breeches, are alſo black, ornamented with red ſtripes and buttons; the waiſtcoat, the ſaſh, the pinks at the knees, and roſes for the ſhoes, are of red ſattin. The dreſs of the ladies is a black ſilk robe with ſlit ſleeves puffed with white gauze, coloured ſaſh and ribbands. This is the uſual court apparel. On ſolemn feſtivals the men wear white or blue cloth or ſattin, lined and ſtriped with red ſattin; the women white ſilk or ſattin, with coloured ribbands and ſaſh. The men, who have not been preſented at court, are dreſſed almoſt entirely in black, without any red lining and ornaments; and the women of the ſame deſcription muſt not appear with the white gauze ſleeves. In

other reſpects, their attire is ſimilar to that juſt deſcribed.

About half paſt ſeven, the king and queen entered the drawing-room, both in the national habit. His majeſty paſſed gradually from one end of the apartment to the other; addreſſed himſelf to different perſons with great vivacity; and ſaluted, according to the etiquette of the court, every ſenator's lady. Being preſented to the king and queen, his majeſty did us the honour to converſe with each of us for a conſiderable time, with great condeſcenſion and affability. At the concluſion of this ceremony they withdrew into an adjacent apartment, and were followed by great part of the company. The king played at *trente et quarante* with about twenty perſons; and the queen ſat down to *ombre*. About nine, their majeſties quitted play, and, repairing to another apartment, ſupped in public: the princeſs Sophia Albertina was the only perſon who ſat down to table with them, that honour being on theſe occaſions confined to the royal family. Oppoſite to their majeſties, at a ſmall diſtance from the lower end of the table, were ranges of taboarets or ſtools for ſenators' and ambaſſadors' wives, no other ladies being permitted to ſit, ſo that none below

below thoſe ranks ever make their appearance at theſe entertainments.

The ſtricteſt adherence to form is obſerved in this court: while many ſovereigns of Europe are endeavouring to retrench the ceremonies attendant on royalty, Guſtavus III. has introduced a degree of pomp and etiquette ſimilar to that uſed at Verſailles, and hitherto unknown in this country. The king appears to poſſeſs too enlarged an underſtanding to be, in this inſtance, a ſervile imitator of the French: it is therefore more probable, that his motive for this conduct is in ſome meaſure political; as the increaſe of royal prerogative may have rendered it expedient to throw an additional ſplendour round the majeſty of the throne. During ſupper the king talked almoſt inceſſantly with the Swediſh nobility, and the foreign miniſters and gentlemen who ſtood near his perſon.

On the following Tueſday, at the ſame ceremony of a drawing-room and a public ſupper, his majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me above half an hour upon various points of the Swediſh hiſtory. He delighted me with many lively remarks and judicious reflections upon the different characters of the kings of Sweden: and particu-

larly expatiated with rapture upon the eminent qualities of Guſtavus Vaſa and Guſtavus Adolphus, who ſeemed the favourite objects of his admiration. Among other topics he mentioned the propoſal made by Eric XIV. to eſpouſe our Elizabeth, and the ſplendid embaſſy of that monarch's brother John to London, for the purpoſe of demanding her in marriage; adding, that this tranſaction had eſcaped the notice of many of the Engliſh hiſtorians; and that even Hume, who in general pays greater attention to foreign affairs, had touched on it only in a very curſory manner: he concluded by obſerving, that Celſius, in his excellent Life of Eric XIV *, had given a very curious and circumſtantial account of John's embaſſy, and of the whole correſpondence between Eric and Elizabeth.

As our ſtay at Stockholm was very ſhort, I had no further opportunity of enjoying thoſe agreeable and inſtructive converſations with which I might have been indulged by his majeſty's uncommon condeſcenſion. Guſtavus III. was born on the 24th of January,

* The original of this excellent work is written in Swediſh; there is a French tranſlation which I read with great pleaſure, particularly the part to which the king alluded. See Hiſtoire d'Eric XIV. par Olof Celſius.

1746;

Ch.ᵉ Ruotte Sculp. Londini

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1746; in 1771 aſcended the throne upon the demiſe of his father Adolphus Frederic; and in the courſe of the following year effected the revolution which conſiderably extended the regal authority. By his queen, Sophia Magdalena, daughter of Frederic V. late king of Denmark, he has iſſue Guſtavus Adolphus, prince royal of Sweden, and Charles Guſtavus, ſince deceaſed. The other members of the royal family are his majeſty's brothers, prince Charles duke of Sundermanland, who eſpouſed Hedwige princeſs of Lubec, prince Frederic Adolphus duke of Eaſt-Gothland, and a ſiſter, the princeſs Sophia Albertina.

The queen dowager, to whom we had the honour of being preſented at her palace of Frederickſhof, and who is ſince dead, was Louiſa Ulrica, ſiſter to the king of Pruſſia; a princeſs who reſembled her brother, as well in the features of her countenance, as in thoſe eminent abilities which characterize the houſe of Brandenburgh. An unfortunate miſunderſtanding had for ſome time taken place between her and his Swediſh majeſty: it was chiefly occaſioned by the ambitious views of the queen dowager, who, accuſtomed to rule the cabinet with abſolute authority in the reign of her huſband, expected to retain the

ſame influence during that of her ſon: but as the monarch, who had emancipated himſelf from the ſhackles of an ariſtocracy, had too much ſpirit to be governed by a woman; the diſappointment of her views drew from her frequent expoſtulations and bitter remonſtrances; which, joined to circumſtances of too delicate a nature to be publicly mentioned, terminated at length in an open rupture. Her majeſty died at Stockholm in the month of July, 1782.

Agreeably to my uſual attention to tombs and monuments, I did not omit paying a viſit to the ſepulchres of the kings of Sweden, whoſe remains are interred in the church of Riddarholm. The firſt of theſe monarchs is Magnus Ladulas, ſon of Birger Jarl, who, having forced his brother to abdicate, aſcended the throne of Sweden in 1274, and died in 1290, with the character of a wiſe and prudent monarch; although he entailed upon his kingdom a long ſeries of civil feuds and commotions, by dividing it into different fiefs, and beſtowing them upon his three ſons. His aſhes are covered by a tomb of ſtone, which ſtands before the altar; and near it is the ſepulchre of Charles Canutſon, who was elected king when the Swedes firſt broke the union

union of Calmar. In his conteſt for the crown he found ſuch powerful rivals in the kings of Denmark, that, from the time of his firſt aſcending the throne to his death, Sweden was rent into two violent parties, which, as they alternately prevailed, Charles was one moment a king, and the next an exile; and his depoſitions and reſtorations were ſo frequent, that it remains to be queſtioned, whether, during the æra of his reign, he was not oftener a titular, than a real ſovereign. He was, however, in full poſſeſſion of the regal authority, when he died at Stockholm in 1470 *.

The next ſovereign, though after a long interval, whoſe remains are depoſited in this church, is Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe eminent civil and military virtues raiſed Sweden to the higheſt degree of renown; and who was one of thoſe few princes that never engaged in war but upon the juſteſt grounds. The greateſt commander of an age, which abounded in great generals, he ſtood up an advocate for liberty and toleration, againſt

* The ſucceeding ſovereigns of the Houſe of Vaſa, excepting Charles IX. are interred at Upſala. See Chapter VI.

tyranny,

tyranny, perſecution, and bigotry; and laid the firſt foundation of that equal balance of power, which was afterwards ſettled by the peace of Weſtphalia. In 1632 he finiſhed his glorious career at the battle of Lutzen, in the 38th year of his age: being amongſt the foremoſt of the combatants, he received a ball in his left arm, but ſtill kept the field till another pierced him through the body. Many of the Swedes aſſert, and ſtill believe, that this great monarch was treacherouſly killed by the duke of Saxe Lauenburgh, who fought by his ſide. Upon examining, however, the proofs advanced in favour of this aſſertion, they amount merely to vague conjectures and uncertain traditions; and no ſubſtantial evidence has been ever produced which might tend to criminate the duke: it is more probable, indeed, that a general, who was remarkable for his courage, and who raſhly expoſed his perſon on all occaſions, ſhould receive his death from the enemy, than from one of his own aſſociates; unleſs the contrary ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon the moſt undoubted facts.

A few years ago, prince Henry of Pruſſia, being at Stockholm, deſcended into the vault; and opened the coffin which contains the remains

mains of Guſtavus. A Swediſh nobleman, who accompanied the prince into the vault, aſſured me, that the body was in a ſtate of complete preſervation; that the countenance ſtill retained the moſt perfect reſemblance to his pictures and coins; and particularly, that the whiſkers and ſhort pointed beard, which he wore, according to the faſhion of the times in which he lived, were diſtinctly viſible. A common obſerver is ſtruck with a reverential awe on beholding only the repreſentation of a deceaſed hero remarkable for his great virtues; what then muſt have been the ſenſations of prince Henry in contemplating the real remains of the great Guſtavus, whom he admires and emulates!

In Guſtavus Adolphus ended the male line of the Houſe of Vaſa: ſince his time all the monarchs of the female branch are interred in this church, excepting his daughter Chriſtina *, who exhibits a ſtriking example, that though it becomes all ſovereigns to protect the arts and ſciences, yet that they deſerve cenſure if their literary purſuits interfere with the more neceſſary occupations of government. In Chriſtina we ſee a princeſs diſcrediting her

* She was buried at Rome.

great endowments by a vain parade and affectation of ſingularity; apoſtatizing to a religion which ſhe affected to ridicule and deſpiſe; while upon the throne deſirous of a private ſtation; and after ſhe had attained it by a voluntary ſacrifice of her authority, inceſſantly repining, and anxious to recover, upon the moſt humiliating conditions, that crown which ſhe had ſo capriciouſly reſigned.

Charles Guſtavus, in whoſe favour ſhe abdicated, and who is buried in a vault of the church, was ſon of Caſimir, prince palatine of the Rhine, and of Catharine, ſiſter of Guſtavus Adolphus. His conduct towards Chriſtina was a maſter-piece of policy: he propoſed to eſpouſe her, yet hoped that ſhe would not accept his propoſals; openly remonſtrated againſt her abdication, yet ſecretly contrived to fortify her reſolutions; and appeared leaſt eager for the crown in the moment when he was moſt ambitious to wear it. Bred in the military ſchool of Germany, he inherited the warlike, rather than the civil virtues of his uncle Guſtavus Adolphus; and was one of thoſe great, but reſtleſs ſpirits, who eſteem war as the ſole occupation worthy of a monarch; and who, while they are adding to their own laurels, diſregard the miſeries and diſtreſſes of

their

their ſubjects. Under his adminiſtration, Sweden acquired an high degree of renown; and nothing leſs than the appearance of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets in the Baltic could have ſtopped the progreſs of his arms; have interpoſed to ſave Denmark; or again reduced the balance of the Northern powers to its proper equilibrium. Arreſted in the midſt of his career by a premature death, he expired at Gotheborg, on the 23d of February 1660, after a ſhort reign of only ſix years.

" Il n'avoit," writes the hiſtorian of Denmark, " que trente-ſix ans, et ſes derniéres " années avoient été auſſi occupées, ou plûtot " auſſi agitées, que les précédentes avoient " été tranquilles et oïſives. Quand on con- " ſidére tout ce que ce prince avoit fait pen- " dant ce court période de ſa vie; ſa paſſion, ſes " talents pour la guerre, ſon activité, ſon am- " bition ſans bornes, le reſpect et la terreur " qu'il avoit inſpirés au dedans et au dehors " de ſes-etats, on ne peut s'empêcher de re- " garder ſa mort prématurée, comme un de ces " événemens auxquels étoit attaché le ſort " d'une grande partie de l'Europe: Et pour " ne parler que de la Suéde, à quel degré de " gloire et de miſére ne l'eut-il pas ſans doute " portée, s'il eut fourni la carriére que la " nature

" nature accorde à la plupart des hommes, mais " que le ciel dans ſa pitié refuſe d'ordinaire aux " conquerans. Quelques revers, et la vue d'une " fin prochaine, avoient donc eclairé Charles " Guſtave ſur la vanité de tous ſes ambitieux " deſſeins: en recommendant a ſes ſucceſſeurs " de faire promptement la paix, il donnoit " une grande leçon à ſes pareils; et c'eſt là " ſans doute le trait de ſon hiſtoire le plus " precieux aux yeux de la raiſon et de l'huma- " nité *."

* Mallet Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, Vol. III. p. 432. " At his death he was only ſix and thirty years of age, and " the laſt years of his life were as agitated as the preceding " part had been tranquil. When we contemplate all the " actions which this prince performed during the ſhort " period of his exiſtence; his talents for war, his activity, " his boundleſs ambition, the reſpect and terror which he " impreſſed equally upon his ſubjects and his enemies, we " muſt conſider his death as an event that could not but " affect the intereſt of the greateſt part of Europe: and with " reſpect to Sweden, to what a degree of glory and wretch- " edneſs would he not have carried her, if he had attained " that period of life which nature generally grants to the " greateſt part of mankind, but which Heaven, in its com- " paſſion, moſt commonly refuſes to conquerors. A reverſe " of fortune, and the approach of death, had fully expoſed to " him the vanity of his ambitious deſigns. In recom- " mending an immediate peace to his ſucceſſor, he af- " forded a moſt ſtriking leſſon to other ſovereigns; and " this perhaps is the moſt exemplary particular of his " hiſtory in the conſideration of reaſon and humanity."

His

His ſon and ſucceſſor Charles XI. whoſe remains are depoſited near thoſe of his father, has been reprobated by many foreign hiſtorians as an odious tyrant; but his character, if inſpected without prejudice, ſo far from deſerving that imputation, will in many inſtances merit our reſpect and eſteem. An unfavourable idea of his deſpotic principles has been formed from his reſumption of many crown lands, which reduced ſeveral families to poverty; and from his mode of liquidating the public debts, by raiſing the nominal worth of the coin without increaſing its real value. Although it cannot be denied that ſome of theſe meaſures were oppreſſive and violent: yet when we conſider the exhauſted ſtate of the finances derived from the boundleſs profuſion of Chriſtina *; the ruinous wars of Charles Guſtavus, and the diſorders of a long minority; we cannot but aſſent to the opinion of the moſt unprejudiced Swedes; that, though the reform introduced by Charles was in ſome inſtances prejudicial to individuals, yet upon

* The principal nobles, during the minority of Charles XI. took advantage of a weak government to appropriate the few crown lands which Chriſtina had not alienated.

the

the whole it was ſalutary to the country; and that nothing leſs than the moſt violent meaſures could have extricated his ſubjects from the deplorable and exhauſted ſtate to which they were reduced. In one point of view Charles merited and gained the love and eſteem of his people: notwithſtanding his natural ardour for military glory, he almoſt invariably perſiſted in pacific meaſures*; and while he preſerved his own country from the horrors of war, mediated the peace of Europe. To Charles XI. may be aſcribed, what Boileau falſely attributed to Louis XIV. that he was

* "His peaceable conduct may perhaps more juſtly be "aſcribed to the ſtate of his affairs, than his own nature, "which more powerfully inclines him to the fatigue of a "camp, than the eaſe of a court; and ſuits better with a "martial familiarity, than the ſhews of grandeur, and the "ſolemnities of ſtate." Biſhop Robinſon's Account of Sweden.

"His majeſty's," ſays Robinſon, "moſt diligent in"ſpection into all the affairs of his kingdom, beſides that "it makes all his miniſters more circumſpect, hath gained "him a great ſtock of experience. The ſmalleſt matters "are not below his notice; and nothing of any moment is "concluded before he hath been conſulted: this is the "employment of all his time, ſcarce any hour of the day "paſſing from five in the morning, when he conſtantly "riſes, in which buſineſs of one nature or other is not "before him."

his

his own miniſter *; and what could not have been ſaid of the French monarch without flattery, would not have been adulation, if the poet had applied it to the Swediſh king. Charles was chaſte, temperate, œconomical, vigilant, and active; a patron of letters; ſevere, yet not implacable; prone to anger, but eaſily ſoftened. If we conſider the interior adminiſtration of affairs, Charles XI. was one of the wiſeſt monarchs who ever ſat upon the throne of this kingdom. To him Sweden ſtands indebted for many excellent regulations which ſtill ſubſiſt. In a word, he was what Philip of Macedon was to Alexander, the precurſor of his ſon's greatneſs, and the founder of his victories: for without the army which he had diſciplined and improved, and the treaſure which he had collected, Charles XII. could never have withſtood the combined forces of all the Northern powers; nor could he have puſhed his conqueſts with that celerity which aſtoniſhed and confounded all Europe. Charles XI. was born on the 25th of November 1655, and died on the

* *Et qui ſeul, ſans miniſtre, à l'exemple des dieux,*
Soutiens tout par Toi-meme, & vois tout par tes yeux.
Boileau, Diſcours au Roi.

24th of April 1697, aged 42; lamenting, it is ſaid, upon his death-bed, as the only reproach to his memory, the natural violence of his temper *, which he had not ſufficiently corrected.

The tomb of Charles XII. is a raiſed ſepulchre of dark marble; with no other inſcription than his name: over it are laid in caſt bronze a club and lion's ſkin, which mark more forcibly than any words

——— " his unconquerable will
" And courage never to ſubmit or yield †."

It would be needleſs to dwell upon a character ſo well known, as that of Charles XII. whoſe ambition was madneſs, and whoſe valour was ferocity. I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to one anecdote atteſted by the moſt reſpectable authority ‡.

Among many converſations with his friend count Poniatowſki, the latter recollected one, in which Charles, after various reflections upon his brilliant ſucceſſes, which he modeſtly

* Schloetzer's Briefwechſel, Vol. I. p. 147.

† Milton.

‡ I had the honour of receiving this anecdote from the king of Poland, who had it from his father count Poniatowſki.

attributed

attributed rather to his good fortune than to his good conduct, expreſſed an intention of marrying; and planned for himſelf a life of tranquillity in his own kingdom; when he would pay greater attention to the interior adminiſtration of affairs, and endeavour to promote the real intereſts of his ſubjects. This anecdote, which is unknown to all his biographers, will ſhow, that even his ſavage ſpirit, that ſeemed to breathe nothing but war, was not always inſenſible to more peaceful comforts, and to the pleaſing proſpect of domeſtic happineſs. Whether this project was merely an idea of the moment, or ſeriouſly intended to be carried into execution, cannot now be aſcertained; but he certainly had removed its accompliſhment to a diſtant period: for, at the time of his ſudden death, he was expecting with impatience the concluſion of a treaty with Peter the Great; not to reſtore peace to his diſtracted country, but, in alliance with Ruſſia and Spain, to dethrone the king of Poland, to ſeat the pretender upon the throne of Great-Britain, and to rekindle in Europe a general war. Charles XII. was killed at the ſiege of Fredricſhall on the 30th of November 1718, in the 36th year of his age; and it remains to this day uncertain whether

he was ſhot by a ball from the enemy's batteries, or fell by the hands of an aſſaſſin *.

The remaining ſovereigns who lie interred in this church, are Ulrica Eleonora, ſiſter of Charles XII. who aſcended the throne of Sweden only to reſign it to her huſband Frederic I.; that monarch, and the late king Adolphus Frederic; mere pageants of royalty, who wielded a ſceptre without power; and whoſe hiſtory contains little more than the æra of their ſucceſſion, and the time of their death.

Beſide the ſovereigns of Sweden, this church contains the aſhes of Baner, a general, who no leſs deſerves mention than the moſt illuſtrious monarch; if we eſtimate his deſerts by the ſervice which he rendered to his country.

John Baner, of an illuſtrious Swediſh family, was born in 1601; and, receiving a very excellent education, made ſo great proficiency in literature, that Guſtavus Adolphus uſed to call him his learned general. Whilſt a boy, he attracted by his magnanimity the notice of that monarch, who pronounced him formed for great events, and placed him in the army;

* See the next chapter.

where

where he ſoon ſignalized himſelf in ſo particular a manner, that, under twenty years of age, he was employed by him in many critical enterprizes, which required no leſs dexterity than bravery. After the death of Guſtavus, he ſupported, as commander in chief, the luſtre of the Swediſh arms by a ſeries of victories, which raiſed his military character higher than that of any general of the age. He ſuſtained this reputation undiminiſhed until his death, which carried him off at Halberſtadt on the 10th of May 1641, in the 40th year of his age. Baner was not inſenſible of the glory which he had acquired by his great actions; but uſually ſpoke of them with great modeſty. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that he never formed any expedition, nor hazarded an action, without the moſt reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. He was equally feared and beloved by the ſoldiers; and always inſpired them with the moſt unbounded confidence. At the head of his troops he acted ſolely from himſelf, and without dependence; and would rather have reſigned the command, than have been directed in his military operations by the orders of the cabinet. "Why do ye think," he would ſay to his confidents, "that Gallas and Picolo-

" mini cannot be ſucceſsful againſt me, but " becauſe they dare not act without the con- " ſent of the Imperial miniſtry." He had the abſolute diſpoſal of all commiſſions; and eſtabliſhed in general a regular order of promotion: he was humane to the vanquiſhed enemy, extremely cautious not wantonly to expoſe his troops to action; and blamed thoſe generals who in ſieges ſacrifice the lives of their men in order to raiſe their own military character. But though he was thus ſparing of his ſoldiers' blood, he was no leſs liberal of his own; being himſelf the braveſt perſon in his army, and too frequently ſeeking danger with a degree of raſhneſs ſcarcely pardonable in a general, but which he inherited from his maſter in the art of war, the great Guſtavus.

In our viſits to the Swediſh nobility, we found the ſame politeneſs and hoſpitality as among the Poles and Ruſſians, although much leſs magnificence and expence in their houſes, retinue, and entertainments, which ariſes from a circumſtance that muſt give pleaſure to every friend of humanity. The poſſeſſion of land not being in this country, as in Poland and Ruſſia, appropriated to any particular deſcription of men, property is more equally diffuſed;

diffuſed; and ſuch vaſt accumulations of wealth or extent of domains do not center in the hands of a few grandees.

During our continuance at Stockholm, one day excepted, in which it ſnowed, we enjoyed as fine ſpring weather as I ever experienced in England. This favourable ſtate of the atmoſphere is exceedingly uncommon at ſo early a ſeaſon in this Northern climate *, where frequently the ſnow remains upon the ground until the month of April; it was to us peculiarly agreeable, as it enabled us to make a few excurſions into the adjacent country, which, although in many parts deſolate and barren, is always rudely romantic; and frequently exhibits, amidſt a magnificent aſſemblage of rocks, lakes, and foreſt, agreeable ſpots of corn and paſture, numerous villages, and farm-houſes.

The Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm owes its inſtitution to ſix perſons of diſtinguiſhed learning, amongſt whom was the celebrated Linnæus: they originally met on the 2d of June 1739, formed a private ſociety, in which ſome diſſertations were read;

* Stockholm is ſituated in 59 degrees 20 minutes of northern latitude.

and in the latter end of the ſame year their firſt publication made its appearance. As the meetings continued and the members encreaſed, the ſociety attracted the notice of the king; and was, on the 31ſt of March 1741, incorporated under the name of the Royal Swediſh Academy. Not receiving any penſion from the crown, it is only under the protection of the king, being directed, like our Royal Society, by its own members. It has now a large fund, which has chiefly ariſen from legacies and other donations; but a profeſſor of experimental philoſophy, and two ſecretaries, are ſtill the only perſons who receive any ſalaries. Each of the members reſident at Stockholm becomes preſident by rotation, and continues in office during three months. There are two ſpecies of members, home and foreign; the election of the former is held in April, and of the latter in July: no money is paid at the time of admiſſion. The diſſertations read at each meeting are collected and publiſhed four times in the year; they are written in the Swediſh language, and printed in octavo, and the annual publications make a volume. The firſt forty volumes, which were finiſhed in 1779, are called the Old Tranſactions; for in the following year the title

title was changed into that of New Tranſactions. The king is ſometimes preſent at the ordinary meetings, and particularly at the annual aſſembly in April for the election of members. Any perſon who ſends a treatiſe which is thought worthy of being printed, receives the tranſactions for that quarter *gratis*, and a ſilver medal; which is not eſteemed for its value, being worth only three ſhillings, but for its rarity and the honour conveyed by it. All the papers relating to agriculture are put forth ſeparately under the title of *Oeconomica acta*; of theſe, three volumes have been already publiſhed in 1775, 1777, 1779. Annual premiums, in money and gold medals, principally for the encouragement of agriculture and inland trade, are alſo diſtributed by the Academy. The fund for theſe prizes is ſupplied from private donations.

Sweden contains the three univerſities of Upſala, Lund, and Abo; and twelve ſeminaries for the education of youth, called *Gymnaſia*, of which ſix were founded by Chriſtina. In every large town there is alſo a ſchool maintained at the expence of the crown, in which boys generally continue until they have attained the age of eleven, when they are ſent to the *Gymnaſia*, and from thence, at about

about ſixteen, to one of the univerſities. In the *Gymnaſia*, and many of the greater ſchools, the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages are taught. The biſhops inſpect theſe ſeminaries and ſchools in their reſpective dioceſes, in which they are bound to reſide.

Before my departure from Stockholm I was introduced to Mr. Oehrling, a Swede born at Arieplog, a ſmall village of Lapland; he had received his education in the univerſity of Upſala, and is a perſon of conſiderable knowledge. He was at that time employed in compiling a Lapland, Swediſh, and Latin Dictionary, which was publiſhed at Stockholm in 1780; a work highly uſeful, and extremely curious, to all perſons verſed in the ſtudy of languages *. Mr. Oehrling ſpoke the Latin and French tongues with great fluency: I had the ſatisfaction of converſing with him, and received from him the following information relative to Lapland and its inhabitants.

The Laplanders call themſelves Salme-Same, and Samen-Almatjeh. Their country they de-

* Lexicon Lapponicum cum Interpretatione Vocabulorum Sueco-Latina et Indice Suecano Lapponico, illuſtratum Præfatione Latino-Suecana Johannis Ihre, nec non auctum Grammatica Lapponica a Dom. Erico Lindahl, et Johanne Oehrling.

nominate Same-Landa or Same-aednam; the Swedes ſtyle it Lapland or Lappmarken, and the inhabitants Lappar. The natives of thoſe diſtricts under the dominion of Sweden and Denmark are Lutherans; while many of thoſe who are ſubjects to Ruſſia are ſtill Pagans. Swediſh Lapland contains about eight churches, which in ſome parts lie at ſo great a diſtance from each other, that a native is frequently obliged to travel three days in order to attend divine ſervice. Lapland, in general, is a vaſt region, but very thinly peopled. Near the Gulf the country is compoſed chiefly of granite rock, or is ſtrewed over with detached maſſes of that ſtone. The whole face of the inland is overſpread with immenſe tracts of foreſt; conſiſting chiefly of firs, larch, and ſmall beech, interſperſed with numerous lakes, which abound with fiſh. It yields paſture, and affords ſome corn, chiefly rye and buck-wheat; and is capable of producing a greater quantity, if more of the natives could be induced to leave their wandering way of life, and cultivate the ground. The winter is very long and tedious, laſting nearly nine months: the ſnow frequently begins to fall towards the latter end of Auguſt, and remains upon the ground till the middle of May. The people are partly

ly ſettled, and in part wild and roving: the latter live in tents made with coarſe cloth; the former are fixed in ſmall villages near the lakes, and chiefly follow fiſhing. They build their cottages ſomewhat in the ſhape of a cone, by placing a circle of large trees or poles aſlant in the earth, and cloſe to each other, ſo that their tops meet, and form a ſmall vent for the iſſue of the ſmoke: they cover the ground within with branches of trees. In ſummer their clothes are made of coarſe cloth; in winter of the ſkins of rein-deer *. In ſpring their food conſiſts principally

* In the Flora Lapponica Linnæus ſays, "Perhaps the "curious reader will wonder how the people in Lapland, "during the terrible cold that reigns there in winter, can "preſerve their lives; ſince almoſt all birds, and even ſome "wild beaſts, deſert it at that time. The Laplander, not only "in the day, but through the whole winter nights, is obliged "to wander about in the woods with his herds of rein-deer; "for the rein-deer never come under cover, nor eat any "kind of fodder but a particular kind of *liverwort*. On "this account the herdſmen are under a neceſſity of living "continually in the woods, in order to take care of their "cattle, leſt they ſhould be devoured by wild beaſts. The "Laplander eaſily does without more light, as the ſnow "reflects the rays that come from the ſtars, and as the "*Aurora Borealis* illuminates the air every night with a "great variety of figures. No part of our body is more "eaſily deſtroyed by cold than the extremities of the limbs, "which

cipally of the eggs of water-fowl, which are extremely plentiful in thoſe parts; in ſummer and autumn, of the birds themſelves, and of various others of the partridge tribe *; and in winter

" which are moſt remote from the ſun of this microcoſm, " the heart. The kibes that happen to our hands and " feet, ſo common in the northern parts of Sweden, prove " this. In Lapland you will never ſee ſuch a thing, al- " though, were we to judge by the ſituation of the coun- " try, we ſhould imagine juſt the contrary; eſpecially as " the people wear no ſtockings, as we do, not only ſingle, " but double and triple. The Laplander guards himſelf " againſt the cold in the following manner. He wears " breeches made of rein-deer ſkins with the hair on, reach- " ing down to his heels; and ſhoes made of the ſame " materials, the hairy part turned outwards. He puts into " his ſhoes *ſlender-eared broad-leaved cyperus graſs, carex " veſicaria, Spec. Pl.* (or the Bladder Carex), that is cut " in ſummer and dried. This he firſt combs, and rubs " in his hands, and then places it in ſuch a manner, that it " not only covers his feet quite round, but his legs alſo; " and being thus guarded, he is quite ſecured againſt the " intenſe cold. With this graſs they ſtuff their gloves " likewiſe, in order to preſerve their hands. As this " graſs keeps off the cold in winter, ſo in ſummer it " hinders the feet from ſweating, and at the ſame time " preſerves them from being annoyed by ſtriking againſt " ſtones, &c. for their ſhoes are very thin, being made, " not of tanned leather, but the raw hide." Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 137, 138.

* " About autumn, when the lakes of Lapland begin to " freeze, the water-fowl, which are found there in great " abundance,

winter of the milk and fleſh of the rein-deer, and dried fiſh: bread, which till very lately

" abundance, migrate towards the South; and upon the " firſt opening of the ſpring, they return in large flocks to " their prior habitations, where they find a plentiful ſub- " ſiſtence from the grubs of the gnats. Theſe grubs too " ſerve for the food of the *tetraones*, or partridge tribe, " thouſands whereof, and even myriads, are daily taken, " and ſent to Stockholm. Theſe birds are caught in " ſuch large quantities by the Laplanders, as to ſupply " them with their ordinary proviſion in autumn, as the " eggs of the water-fowl are their ſupport in ſpring."

Holberg.

" Thoſe who have not ſeen it, will ſcarce believe what " numbers of water-fowl are to be met with upon this " river, to which the lake gives its name; and my water- " men would every now and then put in to ſhore, to look " for the eggs of wild ducks and geeſe amongſt the reeds, " which grow here and there upon the river ſide, or in the " little iſlands which in ſeveral places are formed in the " middle of the river; and that after the manner of the Lap- " landers, who get vaſt quantities of theſe eggs, and of the " wild fowl too, when in ſeaſon, as the old ones in winter, " and the goſlings and young ducks in ſummer, which " they have ſeveral ways of killing: but the moſt common, " and what they are the moſt expert at, is the ſhooting " them with their arrows, as they do their land ones; and " indeed the Laplanders are ſuch excellent archers, and their " prey is ſo very plenty, that ſhould one of them go out a " ſhooting for two hours, and not bring home a load of " game, he would certainly conclude that ſome enchanter, " who bore him a grudge, had out of mere ſpite ſpoiled his " ſport." Motraye's Travels, Vol. II. p. 301.

was

was totally unknown to them, now makes a part of their uſual diet. In winter, they journey in ſmall ſledges, made in the form of boats, drawn by rein-deer. Thoſe animals will travel almoſt the whole day without food, and only occaſionally moiſten their mouths with the ſnow: they do not, however, draw the ſledge with ſuch ſwiftneſs as is generally imagined; their common pace being at the rate of about four miles in the hour *. In ſummer they feed upon graſſes and alpine plants, in winter upon the *liches*

* "Moſt of the rein-deer uſed for draught are caſtrated "when very young, and are larger and fatter than the "bucks: In the winter the Laplanders drive their caſtrated "deer in their ſledges: they harneſs them by a rope faſtened "to a collar, and carried between their legs; and direct "them by means of a bridle faſtened to their horns. Each "deer can draw the weight of one perſon, but rarely more. "If he is preſſed, he will travel ten or twelve Swediſh "miles (70 or 84 Engliſh miles), but by ſuch hard driving "is generally deſtroyed. It, however, frequently happens, "that he will perſevere in his journey 50 miles without in-"termiſſion, and without taking any refreſhment. He is "weak in the back, being fatigued with the weight even of "a ſaddle: for which reaſon the Laplanders, whenever they "travel in ſummer, and ſledges cannot be uſed, lay acroſs "the animal's back a pole, upon which they faſten a ſmall "burden." See Holberg's Account of the Cervus Tarandus in Amœnit. Academ. Vol. I. p. 169.

rangiferinus,

rangiferinus *, or rein-deer lichen, and its varieties, which are ſo abundant as in many parts almoſt totally to cover the ground for the ſpace of ſeveral miles †; and which the ſagacious animal diſcovers under the ſnow by the peculiar acuteneſs of its ſmell. I was farther informed by Mr. Oehrling, that the Laplanders, before their converſion to Chriſtianity, which was not till lately introduced amongſt them, poſſeſſed no books or manuſcripts, though they knew many traditional hiſtories and ſongs of antient heroes and princes, who once reigned over them; but involved in great uncertainty, and mixed with the moſt fabulous accounts. They have now

* For the œconomical and ſcientific deſcription of this Lichen, the reader is referred to Lightfoot's Flora Scotica, Vol. II. p. 877. Hagen's Tentamen Hiſtoriæ Lichenum, P. cxxvi. and particularly to Linnæi Flora Lapponica, P. 332; from whoſe accurate and comprehenſive account ſubſequent authors have principally derived their information.

† "Nullum vegetabile in totâ Lapponiâ tantâ in copiâ "reperitur ac hæc Lichenis ſpecies, et quidem primario in "ſylvis, ubi campi ſteriles arenoſi vel glareoſi, paucis pinis "conſiti, ibi enim non modo videbis campos per ſpatium "unius horæ, ſed ſæpe duorum triumve milliarium, nives "inſtar albos, ſolo fere hocce Lichene obductos. Sic "natura ſeptentrionis quaſi inclinat in albedinem, frigoris "amaſiam." Flora Lappon.

a tranſ-

a tranſlation of the New Teſtament in their language; and many of the natives are able to read and write. Upon my queſtioning him about the Lapland tongue, he anſwered with ſome diffidence, "that though he imagined we are in general too apt to form an haſty opinion of two languages being derived from the ſame ſtock, becauſe a few words in both are ſimilar, when perhaps the idiom and conſtruction are totally oppoſite; nevertheleſs, there appeared to him ſufficient reaſons for concluding that the Finniſh and Lapland tongues were dialects only of one and the ſame original." But what was moſt remarkable, he was of opinion that the Lapland idiom had an undoubted affinity with the Hungarian; for Sainovits, a learned Jeſuit, and a native of Hungary, who had accompanied the celebrated aſtronomer, Father Hell, into Lapland, to obſerve the Tranſit of Venus, has demonſtrated that the Hungarian and Lapland idioms are the ſame *: and he himſelf hath likewiſe publiſhed a treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject †. I regretted that time would not

* Johannis Sainovits, &c. Demonſtratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem eſſe.

† Diſſertatio Academica de convenientiâ Linguæ Hungaricæ cum Lapponicâ.

permit the learned Swede to enter into a detail of all the reaſons which had induced him to adopt this hypotheſis: but we may conclude, that ſtrong probability lies on this ſide of the queſtion; when we find a native of Hungary, and a Swede born in Lapland, both men of letters, and both well verſed in the two dialects, affirming it from their own conviction, without any intercourſe or colluſion. Having both treatiſes in my poſſeſſion, which are extremely rare, I ſhall compriſe, in a ſhort compaſs, the arguments which ſeem to prove the ſimilarity of the two languages.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed that a Laplander entering Hungary, or an Hungarian travelling into Lapland, would be immediately underſtood by the natives: for though the inhabitants of theſe two countries ſhould be unqueſtionably allowed to be branches from the ſame ſtock *; yet, as the ſeparation from that original took place at a time when they had no alphabet; it muſt follow, from the gradual change which all languages neceſſarily

* No perſon in the leaſt converſant in the ſtudy of languages preſumes to doubt that the Engliſh, German, Dutch, Swediſh, and Daniſh are all derived from the antient Gothic or Teutonic, and yet theſe different nations do not underſtand each other.

undergo

undergo in the lapſe of time, and by the adoption of words from the neighbouring nations, that each people could never have retained ſeparately *all* the primitive characteriſtics of their original tongue. It is ſufficient, if, in the general mode of pronunciation, in the ſimilarity of many words, and in the grammatical ſtructure of the phraſes, both nations retain a ſtrong degree of reſemblance; and thus much appears to be the caſe in the Hungarian and Lapland idioms.

In the firſt place, the pronunciation of the Lapland tongue is ſo extremely peculiar and difficult, that a Swede or Dane, unleſs educated from their infancy in the country, can never attain it; whereas Sainovits was able to catch the genuine accent without the leaſt difficulty, although, before his arrival in the country, he had not the leaſt acquaintance with their language; the articulation in many reſpects being ſo perfectly familiar to him, that, to uſe his own expreſſion, "while he "heard them converſing, he thought he was "in his own country *." The next proof

* "Interea, quamvis Lapponibus voces enunciandi "modus ſingularis prorſus ſit, mihi tamen ita familiaris ac- "cidit, ut, dum ipſos ſermocinantes audirem, in patria, "inter Ungaros, me verſari crederem," P. 14.

of their affinity reſts upon the ſimilarity of particular words plainly proceeding from the ſame ſtock. Of theſe Sainovits has given a vocabulary, comprizing 150 common to both, and whoſe reſemblance cannot be doubted. As theſe expreſſions fell under his obſervation during a ſhort reſidence in the country; it is probable that, if he had continued there a longer time, he would have diſcovered many more. The two idioms are further demonſtrated to be the ſame, from a ſurprizing agreement in the declenſion of nouns; in the compariſon of adjectives; in a peculiar uſe of numerals, pronouns, affixes, ſuffixes, and prepoſitions; in the mode of conjugating verbs; and in the auxiliary verbs; for in all theſe circumſtances the two people differ as much from the nations bordering upon both, as they are analogous to each other: "So "that we may venture to conclude," adds Oehrling, "that the German does not ap-"proach nearer to the Swediſh, or the Chal-"dean to the Hebrew, than the Lapland to "the Hungarian."

From theſe premiſes the ſame ingenious author concludes, "that the Laplanders are "undoubtedly deſcended from the Huns; al-"though the preciſe time in which they ſe-

"parated

" parated from the other branches of that " numerous nation cannot be aſcertained." He ventures, however, to conjecture, that ſome of thoſe people penetrated into theſe regions long before the Huns, under Attila and his ſucceſſors, occupied Pannonia, ſince called from them Hungary; that they probably inhabited the ſouthern parts of Sweden, and being driven towards the north by the Goths under Oden, retired to the almoſt impervious mountains and inclement cold of Lapland; where they were no longer purſued by their invaders. Being ſettled in thoſe parts, their language, by a perpetual intercourſe with the Swedes and Norwegians, became gradually intermixed with foreign words, and ſplit into different dialects; ſtill retaining, however, evident traces of the original ſpoken by the Huns *, of whom they were a branch.

*. The Huns, before they penetrated into Hungary, inhabited the inland parts of Siberia, and from thoſe quarters they probably paſſed through European Ruſſia, Livonia, Eſthonia, Finland, and Sweden. In Livonia and Eſthonia a language ſimilar to the Finniſh ſtill exiſts; as well as, among ſeveral tribes of Siberia, an idiom which has great affinity with the Hungarian, ſtill prevails.

POSTSCRIPT.

DURING my former travels into theſe parts, I was prevented by the earlineſs of the ſeaſon, and the difficulty of croſſing the lake Maeler, from viſiting the palace of Drotningholm; but in my ſecond tour I had ſeveral opportunities of ſatisfying my curioſity.

The palace of Drotningholm, the favourite reſidence of the king, is ſituated upon the iſland of Drotningholm or Queen's Iſland, in the lake Maeler, about ten Engliſh miles from Stockholm. The paſſage acroſs the lake to the iſland is near a mile.

The palace was originally built by Hedwige Eleonora, queen of Charles the Tenth; but has been greatly improved and enlarged by ſucceeding ſovereigns, and particularly by his preſent majeſty, who has added a theatre, and ſeveral other buildings. The apartments are more comfortable than magnificent. The king's private library contains an uſeful collection of modern books. A cabinet of natural hiſtory adjoining to the library is ſmall, but remarkable as having been arranged and deſcribed by Linnæus.

The

The ſtate apartments contain paintings of the battles of Charles the Eleventh, the coronation of that monarch, and the portraits of the principal generals who ſerved under Charles the Twelfth, by Ehrenſwald.

The garden * is chiefly laid out in ſtrait walks, excepting a ſmall part, which is called the Engliſh garden, and was forming in a fanciful imitation of our ſtyle.

In the midſt of the garden is a ſpot called Canton, which has been too pompouſly deſcribed by many travellers. It receives that denomination from ſeveral buildings in the Chineſe taſte, diſpoſed in a ſemicircular form, and erected by the late king: they contain ſeveral large Chineſe figures, and vaſes of very valuable porcelain. In theſe apartments his

* The king has ſhewed a finer taſte in the gardens of Haga, a villa belonging to his majeſty, which have been laid out under his own direction in a ſtyle more reſembling Engliſh pleaſure-grounds, than any which fell under my obſervation abroad. The walks are carried by the ſide of a lake, and through the woods, by a gradual and gently-bending outline.

Haga, though a wooden building, is one of the king's moſt favoured villas, endeared to him as being the place where he conſulted with his particular friends on the beſt means for effecting the revolution of 1772, and from which he took the title of Count de Haga, which he aſſumed during his travels.

majeſty invites ſelect parties to dinner and ſupper, when he lays aſide his etiquette.

On the 8th we paſſed the whole day at Drotningholm, according to the tedious forms of Swediſh etiquette, to which his majeſty is ſo much attached. We ſet off full-dreſſed from Stockholm at eleven; and, as the weather was ſhowery, the embarkation in the foreign miniſter's barge was rather diſagreeable.

We found the drawing-room crouded with company to congratulate the king on his late arrival from his travels. It was gala day, and we ſaw the court in all its ſplendor. The gala dreſs of the court for both men and women is blue ſilk and ſatin, with white lining and ornaments. The company appeared to a ſtranger as if they were habited for a maſquerade.

After church the king made his appearance. His majeſty wore a fancy dreſs of purpliſh ſilk, much embroidered with gold; for the king, while he has limited his ſubjects to particular colours, aſſumes the liberty of varying his own dreſs with all the tints of the rainbow.

On my being preſented, his majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me in the moſt gracious manner; recollected having ſeen me before

before in Sweden; talked to me of the docks of Carlſcrona, and aſked me if I had ſeen the dock of Toulon; adding, "It is not for me to "boaſt, but in my eſtimation the works of "Toulon are trifling in compariſon with thoſe "of Carlſcrona. We do not boaſt of pictures "and ſtatues, but we can ſhew the works at "Trothætta, Carlſcrona, and Sveaborg."

Soon after he repaired to a large ſaloon, dined in public, with the queen and royal family, and converſed with the foreign miniſters, who ſurrounded his chair. At two he roſe from table; and we dined with the great marſhal, who keeps a public table on theſe occaſions.

About half paſt five we were preſented to the prince royal, who, although ſcarcely ſix years old, went through the forms of a drawing-room with wonderful eaſe and addreſs for ſo young a perſon.

We afterwards repaired to the Swediſh opera of Iphigenia in Aulis, tranſlated from the French, and the words adapted to Gluck's muſic. The theatre is ſmall but neat; the ſtage was well filled, and the piece well performed.

At the concluſion of the opera we embarked in a covered barge, croſſed the water in the rain,

rain, got into our carriage, and arrived at Stockholm about midnight. Such is the neceſſary etiquette of the Swediſh court; but the king contrives as much as poſſible to relieve the *ennui* of the day by the affability of his manners, and the vivacity of his converſation,

The preſent king has paid great attention to the literature and language of his native country. He has conſtructed, at a conſiderable expence, an opera-houſe in Stockholm, for the repreſentation of operas in the Swediſh language. The building is ſmall, but well arranged, and will contain about eight hundred ſpectators. The ornaments, ſcenes, and decorations, are extremely rich and elegant. The troop, conſidering the recency of the eſtabliſhment, will no doubt greatly improve, as the king loves and encourages theatrical repreſentations, and has compoſed ſeveral pieces for the ſtage.

The polite arts have made their way into Sweden, and flouriſh under the king's patronage.

Among the living artiſts who do honour to their country, muſt be mentioned Mr. Sergell, a ſtatuary, who paſſed ſome time at Rome at the king's expence, and is now ſettled at Stockholm.

Stockholm. His work-ſhop contained ſeveral ſtatues and models, which prove his taſte in ſeizing the ſpirit of the antique. I particularly admired a moſt elegant Cupid and Pſyche; Otriades, in the agonies of death engraving upon his buckler, with the point of his lance, Δι Τροπαιω, "To the God of Victory," his countenance expreſſing a fine aſſemblage of pain, ſurmounted by courage; a buſt of Guſtavus Adolphus, round which the prince royal is entwining a wreath of laurel, in the true ſpirit of the antique.

Mr. Sergell is likewiſe employed in ſuperintending and finiſhing the equeſtrian ſtatue of Guſtavus Adolphus in bronze, after the deſign of Archeveque, a celebrated French ſtatuary, ſince dead. It is of a coloſſal ſize *, and repreſents Guſtavus Adolphus, the favourite hero of Sweden, in complete armour, excepting his head, which is encircled with laurel; his right hand holds a truncheon pointing downwards. The hero ſits well on the horſe, and the animal has great ſpirit.

* The following are its dimenſions: Height, from the bottom of the pedeſtal to the top of the hero's head, forty feet; from the bottom of the horſe's feet to the top of the hero's head, eighteen feet; height of the hero, if ſtanding, fourteen feet; length of the horſe, from the head to the crupper, ten feet. Figure of Oxenſtiern, nine feet.

Mr.

Mr. Sergell has added to the original deſign the figures of Hiſtory, pointing to an inſcription on the pedeſtal; and Axel Oxenſtiern, the celebrated chancellor, who was no leſs pre-eminent in the cabinet than his maſter Guſtavus Adolphus in the field.

Mr. Sergell informed me, that the original plan of Archeveque was to repreſent a Victory on horſeback, preceding and crowning Guſtavus Adolphus on horſeback; a ſublime idea, bold, and perfectly new for a ſtatue. The plan was at firſt accepted by the ſtates, but afterwards altered, becauſe it was thought impoſſible by the perſon employed to caſt it. Mr. Sergell expatiated with great enthuſiaſm on the boldneſs and ſublimity of this plan, and ſeemed by no means to conſider it as impracticable.

Mr. Sergell has been lately employed by the king in executing a monument to the memory of Des Cartes, which is erected in one of the churches of Stockholm. Above is the medallion of Des Cartes, and beneath an angel taking a veil from the globe, and illuminating it with a torch; a ſublime idea, ſimply expreſſing the effect of philoſophy in enlightening the human race, but weakened by the angel's pointing to "Stockholm," written in golden characters.

characters. For the tomb itſelf ſufficiently proved, that the philoſopher died * at Stockholm; and the appropriation of the light of philoſophy to a particular ſpot, ſubſtitutes what is partial and confined to what is general and comprehenſive.

The royal academy of painting and ſculpture at Stockholm contains the fineſt collection of caſts from the antique ſtatues at Rome that ever fell under my obſervation. Theſe caſts were the firſt impreſſions of the only moulds which were ever permitted to be taken from the antique ſtatues. Louis the Fourteenth obtained that permiſſion from the pope, and ſent to Charles the Eleventh theſe caſts, which are therefore uniques in their kind. They were given by the late king Adolphus Frederic to the academy of painting and ſculpture, which he inſtituted.

* His body was tranſported to Paris, and buried in the church of St. Genevieve.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Arſenal of Stockholm.—*Clothes and hat worn by* Charles XII. *when he was killed at the ſiege of* Frederickſhall.—*Inquiry into the circumſtances and occaſion of his death.*

THE arſenal of Stockholm contains an immenſe number of ſtandards and trophies, taken chiefly from the Imperialiſts, Poles, Ruſſians, and Danes. Many of theſe ſtandards were ſupplied by Guſtavus Adolphus, Baner, Torſtenſon and Wrangel, by Charles Guſtavus, but principally by Charles XII. whoſe military atchievements proved the ruin of his country: nor could I avoid remarking, that while this collection proudly diſplayed the trophies of Narva, the Ruſſians poſſeſs Narva itſelf, with all Livonia and other provinces diſmembered from Sweden.

Among other curioſities, I obſerved the ſkin of the horſe ſtuffed, which carried Guſtavus Adolphus at the battle of Lutzen, where he received his death; a boat made by Peter the Great at Sardam in Holland, and taken by a Swediſh veſſel as it was conveying by

ſea to Peterſburgh; and, what particularly attracted my notice, the clothes and hat worn by Charles XII. when he was ſhot in the trenches before Frederickſhall. As many various reports have been ſpread relative to the death of that monarch, and as proofs that he was aſſaſſinated have been attempted to be drawn from the ſtate of thoſe clothes, and particularly of his hat, I examined them with peculiar attention.

The coat is a plain blue uniform, with large braſs buttons, like that of a common ſoldier; his boots are thick and large; his gloves are of buff leather, ſtiff-topped, and reaching almoſt to the elbow: the right-hand glove is conſiderably ſtained with blood, the left only ſprinkled with a few drops; part of a buff belt, which he wore round his waiſt, is alſo bloody*. I mention theſe circumſtances,

* This circumſtance has given riſe to an argument in favour of his being aſſaſſinated: for, ſay the advocates on this ſide of the queſtion, if, upon receiving the ſhot, he inſtantly touched the wound, and then graſped his ſword, it ſeems to imply that he muſt have ſeen the perſon who diſcharged the piece at him, and put himſelf into an attitude of defence: and it is certain, from the account of Pilgren, who ſaw the body, that he had abſolutely drawn the ſword half out of the ſcabbard, and that the hilt was ſo tightly graſped

ſtances, becauſe it renders probable what has been aſſerted, that upon receiving the ſhot he inſtantly applied his right-hand to the wound in his temple, and then to his ſword. The hat bears the appearance of having been ſlightly grazed by the ball, in that part which immediately covered his temple. I was informed, by a perſon who has had frequent opportunities of obſerving it, that the original mark was at firſt very indiſtinct, but has been ſo handled and rent by thoſe who have continually examined it, as to have been conſiderably enlarged. As the ſhot, therefore, did not pierce through, but only grazed the hat, the ſize of the ball, upon which ſo much has been made to depend, cannot be aſcertained from this circumſtance. It follows therefore from this ſimple deſcription, which I noted down upon the ſpot, that, from any appearance either in the clothes or hat, the ſlighteſt inference cannot be deduced in re-

graſped by the right hand as not to be removed without difficulty. But ſurely, if the king really ſaw the perſon who diſcharged the piece, and meant to defend himſelf, he would firſt have graſped the ſword before he had received the ſhot; and if he firſt touched the wound, and then graſped the hilt of the ſword, it was a mere inſtantaneous impulſe, and muſt have been ſo ſudden as to have no reference to an attempt of defending himſelf.

gard

gard to the ſo much agitated queſtion, Whether Charles XII. fell by a ball from the Daniſh batteries, or by the hand of an aſſaſſin. I ſhall ſubjoin to this account an inquiry into the particulars of his death; in the courſe of which ſome new lights may, perhaps, be thrown upon this curious ſubject; and ſome anecdotes introduced, probably unknown to the Engliſh reader.

On the 30th of November 1718, Charles XII. viſited his trenches at the ſiege of Frederickſhall in Norway; advanced as far as a baſtion, which he mounted; and, leaning his arm upon the parapet, ſeemed to examine the progreſs of the works. The Daniſh batteries were playing upon the trenches, and continued a conſtant fire with great and ſmall ſhot, to which the king expoſed himſelf, as uſual, without the leaſt caution; in that attitude he received a ball in his temple, fell upon the parapet, and inſtantly expired. There were with him two French officers; Maigret, the engineer who conducted the ſiege; and Siquier, his aid-de-camp. Behind, at ſome diſtance, were, amongſt others, count Schwerin, who commanded the trenches; count Poſſe, captain of the guards; and Culbert, an aid-

de-camp. According to Voltaire *, the two Frenchmen, ſeeing the king fall, and hearing him utter at the ſame time a deep ſigh, approached and found him dead. Motraye † relates, that Maigret had ineffectually endeavoured to diſſuade his majeſty from remaining in ſo dangerous a place; and that, having conſulted with Schwerin and Culbert, he returned to draw him away by ſtratagem; finding him leaning upon the parapet, he ſuppoſed him to be aſleep; but perceiving that he continued motionleſs, an alarm was given to the officers, who came with a light, and diſcerned that he was dead. Nordberg's account correſponds in general with that given by Motraye. It being determined to conceal the fatal accident, Siquier, who was devoted to the prince of Heſſe, took off the king's hat, covered the head with his own wig and hat; and wrapping the body in a grey cloak, ordered it to be tranſported to his quarters as that of an officer who was juſt killed. Siquier

* Voltaire was probably informed of theſe circumſtances from Siquier himſelf. See Hiſt. de Charles XII. p. 341.

† Voyages de Motraye, Vol. II. p. 396. Nordberg's Hiſt. de Charles XII. p. 358.

himſelf

himſelf flew without delay to the prince of Heſſe, " who was quartered at Torpum, about " the diſtance of three quarters * of a mile. " The prince was at ſupper," writes a page who was preſent †, " with ſome generals and " officers. Siquier, without being announced, " approached and whiſpered the prince; the " latter did the ſame to the perſon who ſat " next to him; and the whiſper being cir- " culated round the company in the ſame " manner, the prince retired from table, and " gave immediate orders for poſt-horſes." " I " followed," adds the ſame perſon, " the of- " ficers to the place where the king was " killed. The prince ordered the generals and " officers, who were preſent, to place the " body in a litter prepared to convey it to the " head quarters. One-and-twenty ſoldiers " ſtanding around with wax tapers in their " hands, we obſerved, that the king, in the " agonies of death, had drawn his ſword half " out of the ſcabbard; and that the hilt was

* Probably of a Swediſh mile, which is equal to about 6½ Engliſh miles.

† This account is taken from the narrative of Pilgren, a page to the prince of Heſſe, who was that day in waiting. See Von Karls XII. Tode & in Schloetzer's Briefewechſel, Vol. I. p. 230.

" ſo tightly graſped by the right-hand, as not " to be diſengaged without difficulty. The " body was no ſooner removed than the prince " held a council with the officers, when it " was determined to raiſe the ſiege, and to " diſpatch field-marſhal Ducker to Sandſborg, " in order to prevent any one from paſſing to " the enemy, and ſpreading the report of the " king's death: but this precaution was too " late, as that very night a Swediſh lieutenant, " accompanied by a drummer, went over the " Glomma to the enemy, and acquainted them " with the king's death."

From theſe circumſtances we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the king was aſſaſſinated, but rather that he received his wound from one of the Daniſh batteries. Let us then examine the reaſons which have induced many perſons to aſſert that he was killed by treachery; and that Frederic prince of Heſſe, who had eſpouſed his youngeſt ſiſter Ulrica Eleonora and was ſoon afterwards raiſed to the throne, was not wholly unſuſpected of being concerned in his death.

The duke of Holſtein, ſon of Hedwige eldeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. was the undoubted heir to the crown; and would, according to the opinion of his miniſter Baſſevitz, have ſucceeded,

ceeded, if he had immediately ſhown himſelf to the troops.

" The duke was in the camp. Charles " had brought him to the army in that ſe- " vere campaign in order to form him to war. " Upon the firſt news of the king's death, " the young prince retired to his tent over- " whelmed with affliction. The generals who " were attached to him, in vain demanded " admittance. Duker conjured his favourite " Roepſtorf, that he would perſuade him to " appear before the troops, and offered to pro- " claim him upon the ſpot. Roepſtorf gained " admittance to his maſter, but ſoon returned " with an anſwer, that he was too much " affected to hold converſation with any one. ' If he will not act,' ſays Duker, ' affairs ' muſt go as they can.' " This delay was " the ſafety of the Swediſh liberty. For how " would the nation have dared to propoſe the " ſuppreſſion of abſolute authority, in op- " poſition to a king who had been proclaimed " by the army, and was already in poſſeſſion " of all the prerogatives enjoyed by his pre- " deceſſor * ?" Another † account informs

* Memoires de Baſſevitz in Buſching, H. M. IX. p. 321.
† Schloetzer's Briefewechſel, Vol. I. p. 151.

us, " that ſeveral of the Swediſh generals ten-
" dered the crown to the duke, upon the
" condition of renouncing abſolute power;
" but that he refuſed to be bound by any
" reſtrictions."

The conduct of the prince of Heſſe was far more politic. Having diſpoſed of the king's body, he iſſued immediate orders to arreſt baron Gortz *, as if already in poſſeſ-
ſion

* The arreſt of Baron Gortz was attended with many curious circumſtances, which are related by Pilgren, who accompanied the officers that arreſted him; but the account is too long to be inſerted in this work. See Gortzen's Gefangenemmung in Schloetzer, Vol. I. p. 231 to 243.

The real cauſe of the Baron's impriſonment and execution was his attachment to the duke of Holſtein, which neither Frederic nor Ulrica Eleonora could forgive; to their revenge, and to the cabals of a party, he fell a ſacrifice. Poſterity, however, has done juſtice to the integrity of this great, but turbulent ſtateſman; and particularly the preſent king of Sweden has paid a tribute of praiſe to his memory, in the following letter to his daughter Madame D'Eyben. See Schloetzer Theil. XI. p. 109. " Madame la Baronne D'Eyben. La memoire de l'il-
" luſtre et malheureux Baron de Gortz eſt trop reſpectée
" de moi, pour que je n'aye été trés ſenſiblement touché
" d'apprendre, qu'il exiſtoit encore un de ces enfans, que
" la tirannie et l'injuſtice atroce de la princeſs Ulrique
" Eleonore, et de ceux qui preſidérent à la diéte de 1719,
" rendirent

ſion of ſovereign authority; and diſpatched Siquier to his conſort Ulrica Eleonora at Stockholm. That princeſs was no ſooner informed of her brother's death, than ſhe ſummoned the ſenate; and agreeing to renounce all right to the crown by hereditary ſucceſſion, and to ſubſcribe to the limitation of regal power, ſhe was ſoon afterwards elected queen, but reſigned, in 1721, the crown to her huſband.

The account of the king's death, publiſhed by order of the court ſoon after the event, enters into no details, but attributes it to a ball ſhot from a falconet *. Motraye affirms †, that

" rendirent orphelins. Son ſang innocent a trop long-
" temps crié vengeance. La Suede a pendant 50 ans de
" malheurs, de devaſtations et de troubles paié cherement
" le tribut, que la colére divine a exigé pour le crime,
" commis contre un grand homme innocent, pour que je
" ſouhaite ardemment, en qualité de *premier citoyen de ma*
" *patrie*, reparer au nom de cette même patrie, l'injuſtice
" que nos ancétres ont commis. A ce titre, que je re-
" garde comme le plus beau de tous ceux, que la Pro-
" vidence a bien voulu aſſembler ſur ma tête, s'ajoute en-
" core celui de ma maiſon, pour laquelle il a été un ſa-
" crifice. Vous devés donc bien juger, Madame, combien
" je ſuis porté de vous faire rendre la juſtice, que vous re-
" clamés en qualité d'heritiére et de fille de feu Baron de
" Gortz, &c. &c. ce 28 d. Ottobre, 1773."

* A ball of a falconet uſually weighs one pound and $\frac{1}{8}$ at leaſt.

† Large de quatre doigts. Motraye.—Un trou dans

theſe aſſertions, may it not be aſked, Whether count Liewen and captain Carlberg had any opportunity of examining the wound with that attention neceſſary to form a deciſive opinion? and if they did, whether the ſize of gun-ſhot wounds does not exceedingly vary according to the velocity of the ball, and the place which it ſtrikes?

But ſhould we even allow, that the piece from which the king received his death was not larger than a muſket; the next circumſtance for inquiry is, Whether a muſket-ſhot could have reached him from the ramparts of Frederickſhall, or from any of the adjoining batteries? That this is probable, will appear from conſulting the plan of Frederickſhall in Motraye, who had viſited the place; for the parapet on which the king was leaning is only 180 yards from the ramparts, and about 800 from the battery, from which he conjectures that he was killed. As a random muſket-bullet will often take effect at 800, or even 1000 yards, the king might have been ſtruck in this manner, and ſtill more probably by ſmall or grape-ſhot diſcharged from a cannon.

Many perſons have been ſuſpected of being concerned in the ſuppoſed aſſaſſination: Siquier

principally, becauſe he was near Charles at the time of his death, covered the body from inſpection, immediately carried the news to the prince of Heſſe, and, by haſtening to Stockholm, ſecured the crown to the princeſs Ulrica Eleonora. His conduct in theſe inſtances, however, affords no poſitive evidence either againſt himſelf or Frederic; for both would have acted in the ſame manner from common policy, whether the Swediſh monarch was killed by accident, or by their treachery. Unfortunately, however, Siquier himſelf, in 1722, being at Stockholm, in a delirium, occaſioned by a fever, opened the window of his apartment, and exclaimed, that he had murdered Charles XII.; but no one gave any credit to the confeſſion of a perſon who was then in a ſtate of inſanity. Suſpicions alſo fell upon Maigret the engineer, merely becauſe he was preſent in the trenches; and alſo upon General Renſkioeld, who is ſaid to have employed the murderer: but this report had no foundation, and ſeems to have chiefly ariſen from his activity in ſupporting the party of the ſenate for limiting the ſovereign authority, and in placing Ulrica Eleonora upon the throne.

It

It is evident from a paſſage in Bruce's Memoirs *, that a belief of the king's aſſaſſination was generally received.

" As I was dining," he ſays, " at an ordi-
" nary one day, with ſeveral of my acquaint-
" ance, there happened to be at the table a
" Swediſh colonel, and a lieutenant-colonel,
" who was born dumb, but notwithſtanding
" that misfortune, had been a great favourite
" with the late king of Sweden. While we
" were at dinner, the governor's aid-de-camp
" came in, and, addreſſing himſelf to the Swe-
" diſh colonel, ordered him, in the emperor's
" name, to leave Riga immediately, otherwiſe
" he would be proceeded againſt as a traitor.
" The Swede immediately getting up from
" the table, quitted the room pale and trem-
" bling. On our enquiring into the reaſon of
" this ſudden order to the colonel, we were
" informed that he was ſuſpected of having
" ſhot the late king of Sweden in the trenches
" before Frederickſhall. It ſeems that ſome
" of the company had, by ſigns, made the
" dumb lieutenant-colonel underſtand the af-
" fair, on which he ran after him with his

* P. 366.

" ſword

" ſword drawn, and, but for the interpoſition " of the aid-de-camp and ſome others with " him, he would certainly have killed the " colonel, who was ſafely conducted over the " river Dwina, which divides Livonia from " Courland, and was followed by his ſervants " and baggage. It was obſerved, that while " he reſided in Riga, large remittances had " come to him from Stockholm, which made " it generally ſuſpected that he had been highly " bribed to commit the regicide. The colonel " made haſte to get into Poland, intending to " paſs through that kingdom into Turkey, " where he was well acquainted, having at- " tended the king of Sweden all the time that " prince reſided in Bender; but as he was no " more heard of, it was generally thought he " had been murdered in Poland."

Bruce does not mention the name of this colonel; but his account ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to corroborate the opinion of many perſons in Sweden; that if the king was treacherouſly put to death, it is highly probable that the murder was committed by a Swede. A member of the diet, which aſſembled ſoon after the revolution, uſed theſe myſterious expreſſions. " The liberty which

" has

" has been ſo much extolled, always carried " to exceſs, and to which we have ſo long " been enſlaved, perhaps at its commencement " did not occaſion any real bleſſings. It is " a conjecture which excites horror, an *op-* " *probrium* from which I wiſh we could en- " tirely exculpate ourſelves, namely, that the " life of our Northern hero Charles XII. " —But I tremble: he was upon the point " of recovering the loſſes of the ſtate. Poſ- " terity will dare to expatiate upon this much- " to-be-lamented event." It appears from theſe words, as if the ſpeaker conceived that the partizans for a limited monarchy had occaſioned the death of Charles, in order to eſtabliſh a new form of government; and he alludes to the following anecdote.

A Swediſh officer, whoſe name is Cronſtedt, is ſaid to have owned, upon his death-bed, to a clergyman called Tolſtadius, that he was concerned in the murder of Charles XII.; and the confeſſor afterwards drew up an account of this declaration, which was delivered to the king and ſenate, and is now preſerved in the archives. I could not learn the particulars of this account; but was informed

formed in general, that Cronſtedt * affirmed he only loaded the piece; and that Stiernros, who died lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, was the perſon who fired it, ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance behind the king; and it is likewiſe aſſerted, that Stiernros, in his laſt illneſs, acknowledged his guilt. The queen-dowager of Sweden, whoſe curioſity was excited by all theſe reports, deſcended a few years ago into the vault which contains the body of Charles. Upon examining the wounds, one whereof was in the back of his head,

* It may not be improper to mention in this place, that Cronſtedt is ſaid to have been out of his ſenſes before he died; and if ſo, his confeſſion deſerves no more credit than that of Siquier. Another madman likewiſe acknowledged himſelf to be the king's aſſaſſin. Fabricius, who is mentioned as a great favourite of Charles XII. died in England in a delirium; and he aſſured Miller, the celebrated botaniſt, with whom he was intimately acquainted, that he aſſaſſinated the Swediſh monarch. I received this anecdote from a gentleman who had it from Mr. Miller himſelf.

In my ſecond viſit to Stockholm in 1784, I found, on more accurate inquiry, that many of theſe anecdotes tending to confirm the report of his aſſaſſination, were either very uncertain, miſtated, or exaggerated; and particularly that the account concerning Cronſtedt's confeſſion, and Frederic's remorſe, were probably void of foundation.

and

and the other in the left temple, ſhe found that the latter was the greater; whence it was concluded, that the ball went in behind and came out before, from the well-known effect of gun-ſhot wounds, whoſe entering orifice is always the ſmalleſt. I may likewiſe venture to add, that her majeſty, after weighing all the circumſtances on both ſides, was of opinion that the king was aſſaſſinated.

It appeared probable to ſome perſons, from ſeveral particulars in the confeſſion of Cronſtedt, that he had been employed by Frederic I. and it is ſtill believed by many at Stockholm, but without ſufficient proofs; that Frederic, upon the approach of death, raved about Charles XII. and expreſſed great remorſe and compunction on his account.

In mentioning theſe anecdotes, I beg leave to requeſt that they may be conſidered merely as reports, upon which other perſons, who ſhall have an opportunity of obtaining more preciſe information, may build their inquiries; as my intention was to throw together all the intelligence I could collect concerning the death of Charles XII.; in order to enable the reader

to

to draw the concluſion which ſhall ſeem the moſt probable.

Upon reviewing the principal circumſtances in this myſterious affair; if we are convinced that the king's wound was that of a muſket or piſtol ball, and yet that he was not in a ſituation to be reached by ſuch a ſhot from the enemy's batteries; and that though the belief of his being unfairly put to death was general in the army, yet no enquiry was made; if we imagine the evidence of Liewen and Carlberg are to be abſolutely relied upon, and particularly the aſſertion of the former, that the report of the piece which deſtroyed the king was that of a piſtol; if we can ſuppoſe the confeſſion of Cronſtedt and Stiernros to be genuine; the remorſe of Frederic to be ſincere and well atteſted; if we think the opinion of the queen-dowager * ſufficient to convince

* In oppoſition to the opinion of the late queen-dowager, we may remark, that her majeſty was much prejudiced againſt Frederic king of Sweden, and inclined to adopt and circulate any report to his diſcredit. Influenced probably by his mother's prejudices, the preſent king was at one time ſo convinced, that Cronſtedt had aſſaſſinated Charles, as to refuſe giving a commiſſion to his grandſon, declaring, that he never would confer a military rank on

convince our judgment; we muſt neceſſarily conclude that Charles XII. was aſſaſſinated. On the contrary, if we believe that the wound was ſo large, that it muſt have been occaſioned by a ball from a falconet, or half falconet; or if not, that the king was liable to be reached by a muſket-ball *; if we ſee no

the grandſon of a perſon who had aſſaſſinated the king of Sweden; but two years afterwards he voluntarily gave the commiſſion to the ſame perſon, candidly alledging, that he had been miſtaken, and that he was now convinced Cronſtedt had no ſhare in the king's aſſaſſination.

* An unqueſtionable proof that the wound was made by a ſmall ball is derived from the evidence of the following perſons of the higheſt rank and credibility. "On the 12th "of July, 1746, between five and ſix in the morning, the "following perſons entered the vault in which is interred "the body of Charles the Twelfth, and examined the "wound in his head. On the right ſide below the temple "was a plaiſter ſo ſtrongly fixed as not to be removed "without great difficulty; under which they noticed an "orifice which ſeemed to deſcend to the back part of the "head, ſeven lines long and two broad. On the left ſide "was a plaiſter of the ſame ſize. All the temple was "driven out, and the bones ſhattered in ſuch a manner, as "made it eaſy to diſtinguiſh that the ball went out on that "ſide. The face was a little disfigured, the mouth a little "open, and ſome teeth viſible.

"Signed, C. Harteman, Ch. Ekelblad,
"and John von Hoepken."

Mr.

no glaring contradictions between the account publiſhed by the court, and the relations made by thoſe who were in the trenches at the time when he fell; or if we think that the latter perſons may have been miſtaken in ſome material circumſtances; if we can reconcile the conduct of Frederic as being merely dictated by policy, and ſuch as would have been adopted by any perſon in the ſame ſituation, though he were not acceſſary to the murder: if to theſe conſiderations we add the natural propenſity of mankind to attribute the death of extraordinary perſonages to extraordinary cauſes; that thoſe who have once framed an hypotheſis will imperceptibly warp all events

Mr. Firman, an engraver of medals at Stockholm, poſſeſſes a maſk of plaiſter of Paris, moulded from the face of Charles the Twelfth, when the king's body lay at the palace of Carlſberg previous to the interment. The inſpection of this curious maſk, beſides repreſenting the exact features of that monarch, led me to make ſome remarks on the ſize and ſituation of the wound which occaſioned his death, and which has given riſe to ſuch contradictory accounts and conjectures. The maſk reaches no farther than the extremity of each temple. The mark of the wound on the right temple is very viſible, and is not large. The bones were apparently much ſhattered, but the eyes were perfect in their ſockets; ſufficiently proving, that they were not diſlodged, as Motraye and Voltaire aſſert.

in its ſupport; and that until poſitive proofs, not merely drawn from flying reports and uncertain anecdotes, are eſtabliſhed; we ought undoubtedly to lean to the ſide of candour and humanity; we ought not to credit ſurmiſes ſo injurious to characters otherwiſe without reproach; and we are bound to conclude that Charles XII. fell by the hand of the enemy, and not by treachery. And this opinion was likewiſe ſupported by the high authority of count Poniatowſki *, the confidential friend of Charles XII.

* As I had the honour of being informed by the preſent king of Poland.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Changes in the form of the Swediſh *government.—Inquiry into the nature of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed at the Revolution of* 1772.—*The king a limited, and not an abſolute monarch.—Diet compoſed of the king and ſtates.—I. Houſe of nobles.—II. Of the clergy.—III. of citizens.—IV. Of peaſants.—Mode of enacting laws.*

THE form of the Swediſh government has frequently varied. Before the acceſſion of the houſe of Vaſa in the perſon of Guſtavus I. it was a monarchy wholly elective; and laboured under all the evils which are inſeparable from that moſt defective ſpecies of ſovereignty. By the union of Calmar, which took place in 1397, it was ſtipulated; that the ſame monarch was to rule over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and to be choſen by the deputies from the ſtates of thoſe three kingdoms aſſembled at Calmar. Throughout the whole period in which theſe regulations ſubſiſted, Sweden was a mere tributary kingdom to the ſovereigns of Den-

mark; or, in its temporary exertions to ſhake off that yoke, drew on itſelf all the horrors of foreign invaſion and inteſtine diſcord.

From this ſtate of alternate oppreſſion and anarchy it was reſcued by Guſtavus Vaſa, on whom the gratitude of the Swedes conferred the dominion of that country which he had delivered: they even renounced in his favour the right of electing their kings; and declared the crown hereditary in his male iſſue. The form of government eſtabliſhed at his acceſſion, though in appearance of a mixed nature, and though it lodged the ſupremacy in the aſſembly of the ſtates, yet entruſted very extenſive prerogatives to the king. Theſe powers, tranſmitted to his immediate poſterity with little diminution, were augmented under Guſtavus Adolphus; and at the ſame time the right of ſucceſſion was extended to the female line. But, during the minority of his daughter Chriſtina, the government underwent an alteration unfavourable to regal authority: the privileges of the ſenate, or council of ſtate, being enlarged, gave the aſcendancy to the ariſtocratical party, or order of nobles; and this power was, by continual encroachments, carried to ſuch an exorbitant height, as juſtly to excite the fears and indignation of the

the three other orders of the clergy, citizens, and peaſants. At length Charles XI. artfully availing himſelf of this diſſatisfaction, obtained from the ſtates a formal ceſſion of abſolute ſovereignty, which he quietly devolved upon his ſon Charles XII. Upon the deceaſe of the latter, his nephew, Charles Frederic duke of Holſtein, ſon of his eldeſt ſiſter Hedwige, ought, by the law of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by Charles XI. to have aſcended the throne. But the Swedes, in breach of that regulation, excluded the duke of Holſtein, and conferred the crown upon Ulrica Eleonora, the youngeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. That princeſs, poſſeſſing no title but what was derived from the appointment of the nation, purchaſed her election by a ſurrender of abſolute authority, and by ratifying all the limitations of prerogative which the ſtates impoſed; and her huſband Frederic I. in whoſe favour ſhe reſigned the crown, ſecured their concurrence by ſimilar ſtipulations.

The new form of government eſtabliſhed at this juncture, conſiſted of fifty-one articles, all tending to abridge the powers of the crown; and rendered the Swediſh ſovereign the moſt limited monarch in Europe. It was ſettled, that the ſupreme legiſlative authority ſhould

reſide abſolutely and ſolely in the ſtates of the realm aſſembled in diet; which, whether convened by the king or not, muſt regularly aſſemble every three years, and could only be diſſolved by their own conſent. During the receſs of the diet, the executive power reſided in the king and ſenate; but as the king was bound in all affairs to abide by the opinion of the majority; and as he poſſeſſed only two votes, and the caſting voice in caſe of equal ſuffrages, he was almoſt entirely ſubordinate to that body, and could be conſidered in no other light than its preſident *. At the ſame time

*. Mr. Sheridan, in his Hiſtory of the late Revolution, &c. has thus delineated the exorbitant authority, veſted in the ſtates, p. 145: "While the ſtates were aſſembled, "they were, in fact, poſſeſſed of the whole ſupreme power. "The authority of the king and ſenate was then ſuſpended, "&c.—In ſhort, the ſtates were veſted with the ſame "powers, independent of the king and ſenate, that in Eng-"land the two houſes of parliament poſſeſs in conjunction "with the king.

"The legiſlative power they reſerved wholly to them-"ſelves. The king and ſenate, having no ſhare whatever "in it, did not even poſſeſs a negative on thoſe reſolutions "of the diet, which directly attacked the regal and ſe-"natorial rights.—The following powers were likewiſe "veſted in the ſtates alone: Thoſe of declaring war, or "making peace; that of altering the ſtandard of the "coin, &c.

"The

time the ſenate itſelf ultimately depended upon the ſtates; as its members, though nominally appointed for life, yet were in a great meaſure choſen by the ſtates *; were amenable before that aſſembly; and liable to be removed from their office, in caſe of real or pretended malverſation. Thus the ſupreme authority reſided in a tumultuous aſſembly, compoſed of the four orders, into which many nobles without property, tradeſmen, and peaſants, were admitted; moſt of whom were of courſe

"The executive power, during the ſitting of the diet, "may be ſaid to have been, in a great meaſure, lodged in "a certain number of perſons ſelected from the three orders "of the nobles, clergy, and burghers, who conſtituted "what was denominated the ſecret committee, &c. With "regard to the judicial power, the ſtates aſſumed to them-"ſelves a right of exerciſing that alſo, whenever they "thought proper, by taking at pleaſure cauſes out of the "ordinary courts of juſtice, to try them before a temporary "tribunal erected by themſelves, and compoſed of their "own members. Nothing could be more formidable "than the power of this court, or more ſubverſive of li-"berty; as, in reality, it united within itſelf at once the "legiſlative, judicial, and executive powers; and it was to "decide principally in caſes of treaſon. What rendered "this extraordinary juriſdiction moſt prepoſterous was, "its being generally at the ſame time both judge and "party."

* All vacancies in the ſenate were filled by the king from three candidates nominated by the ſtates.

ſubject

ſubject to all the corruption and influence to which needy and ignorant repreſentatives are neceſſarily expoſed. Although all ſtatutes were ſigned by the king, and the ordinances of the ſenate iſſued in his name; yet in neither caſe did he poſſeſs a negative: and in order to obviate the poſſibility of his attempting to exerciſe that power, it was enacted, in the diet of 1756, that "in all affairs, without exception, which had hitherto required the ſign "manual, his majeſty's name might be affixed by a ſtamp, whenever he ſhould have "declined his ſignature at the firſt or ſecond "requeſt of the ſenate." In conſequence of this reſolution, the royal ſignature was actually engraved; and applied to the ordinary diſpatches of government, under the direction of the ſenate *. In a word, the king enjoyed little more than the mere name of royalty. He was only the oſtenſible inſtrument in the hands of one of the two great parties, who at that time divided and governed the kingdom, as either obtained the ſuperior influence in the diet.

We cannot but remark upon this ſubject, that the Swedes, who, during the reigns of

* Sheridan, p. 188. Cantzler, p. 71.

Charles XI. and XII. had ſo reluctantly ſubmitted to the deſpotiſm of their ſovereigns, knew not how to uſe their liberty: they intemperately ran into the contrary extreme; and, in order to diſable the king from recovering arbitrary power, they even deſpoiled him of thoſe juſt and neceſſary prerogatives, which in a monarchical conſtitution can alone form a barrier againſt ariſtocratical uſurpation and popular factions; as if they were ignorant of any medium between abſolute dominion and anarchy, or between licentiouſneſs and ſervitude.

The groſs defects in this new form of government occaſioned conſtant ſtruggles between the kings of Sweden and their ſubjects, on one ſide to increaſe, on the other to depreſs, the royal prerogative; until his preſent majeſty effected the revolution of 1772. It is needleſs to enter into any detail of this extraordinary event, as Mr. Sheridan, who at the period in queſtion was ſecretary to the Britiſh envoy at Stockholm, has given to the world a moſt ample and accurate detail of the whole tranſaction *. Perſons of the moſt op-

* A Hiſtory of the late Revolution in Sweden, &c. by Charles Francis Sheridan, Eſq.

poſite

poſite parties in Sweden unanimouſly concur in commending the fidelity of Mr. Sheridan's hiſtory, and in preferring it to the numerous narratives of that important event; and the king has frequently acknowledged its general authenticity. The ingenious author has developed with the utmoſt preciſion and truth the dreadful abuſes occaſioned by the ſyſtem of government eſtabliſhed in 1720; and has traced, with a maſterly hand, the judicious and ſpirited conduct of his preſent majeſty. But in this account of the new government, admirable as it is, he has unfortunately advanced a capital miſtake; which, as it has fallen from a perſon of ſuch reſpectable authority, and ſeems generally prevalent in all foreign countries, deſerves a particular diſcuſſion. I allude to his aſſertion, that the king of Sweden is "no leſs abſolute at Stockholm "than the French monarch at Verſailles, and "the Grand Signor at Conſtantinople *;" whereas his Swediſh majeſty, though now poſſeſſed of very great prerogatives, is yet in many important inſtances a limited monarch, as will be aſcertained by a review of the preſent conſtitution.

* P. 301.

The

The whole executive power is virtually veſted in the king: for though it is ſaid to be entruſted to him conjointly with the ſenate; yet as his majeſty appoints and removes all the members of that council, and in the adminiſtration of affairs aſks only their advice, without being bound to follow it, he is abſolute maſter of the ſenate *. The king has the command of the army and navy, and fills up all commiſſions; he likewiſe nominates to all civil offices †. He has the ſole power of convening and diſſolving the ſtates, and is not obliged to aſſemble them at any ſtated period ‡; he has rendered many of the taxes

* Article 4th. In ſome few inſtances, however, namely, in the negociations of peace, truces, and alliances, the king is bound to follow the opinion of the ſenators, in caſe they are unanimous; but as it is ſcarcely poſſible that ſeventeen ſenators, appointed and removeable by his majeſty, ſhould be unanimous in their oppoſition to him, we may fairly allow the king to have the command of the ſenate. Art. 6th.

In the high courts of juſtice, indeed, conſiſting of ſeven ſenators, to which a final appeal lies from all the inferior courts, the king has only two voices, and a caſting vote if the opinions are equal. But yet, in this inſtance, as he nominates and removes at his pleaſure their judges, he muſt have the entire diſpoſal of their ſuffrages. Art. 8th. See the articles of the new form of government in the Appendix to this volume.

† Art. 6; alſo 22. 25. and 31.

‡ Art. 38.

perpetual,

perpetual, enjoys a fixed revenue, and has the diſpoſal of the public money.

Such are the prerogatives which his Swediſh majeſty has annexed to his crown: but however enormous they may appear, eſpecially when compared with the ſlender degree of authority poſſeſſed by the throne before that period; yet they by no means, I apprehend, amount to deſpotiſm. The two great features, which eſſentially diſtinguiſh an arbitrary from a limited monarch, are the uncontrouled right of enacting and repealing laws, and the impoſition of taxes without conſent of the ſubject; neither of which are exerciſed by the king of Sweden. With reſpect to the former, the legiſlative authority reſides jointly in him and in the ſtates *; and it is expreſsly decreed in the 40th article, "that the king "ſhall have no power to make new laws, "without the knowledge and aſſent of the "ſtates; nor abrogate an old one received "formerly †." Concerning the impoſition of

* Mr. Sheridan is wrong, in ſaying that the ſtates were to deliberate upon nothing but what the king thought proper to lay before them; they having a right, as well to propoſe laws, as to negative thoſe propoſed by the king. See Art. 42.

† Art. 48.

taxes,

taxes, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that the king ſhall not levy any money without the conſent of the ſtates, excepting in the caſe of actual invaſion *; and at the concluſion of the war he ſhall be obliged to ſummon them, and the new taxes ſhall be aboliſhed. In addition alſo to theſe two important reſtrictions, he cannot declare war, nor alter the coin, without their concurrence; and, if called upon by them when convened, is obliged to account for the expenditure of the public money †.

Though the king is ſubject to theſe material limitations; yet, as his ordinary revenue is perpetual, and the meeting of the ſtates de-

* Mr. Sheridan, upon this article, ſays, "By a third, "though his majeſty did not openly claim a power of im- "poſing taxes on all occaſions, yet ſuch as already ſubſiſted "were to be perpetual; and in caſe of invaſion, or *preſſing* "*neceſſity*, the king might impoſe ſome taxes, *till* the ſtates "could be aſſembled. But his majeſty was to be the judge "of this neceſſity; and we have ſeen that the meeting of "the ſtates depended wholly on his will and pleaſure." P. 307.

Now there are no ſuch words as *preſſing neceſſity* in the new articles of government, but the exerciſe of this power is ſtrictly confined to the caſe of actual invaſion: the words are, "Yet that unhappy caſe excepted, when the kingdom "ſhould be attacked by an army."

† Articles 44. 48. 59.

pends

pends ſolely upon his pleaſure, it may be urged that he may govern without controul, ſo long as he requires no additional ſubſidies. But ſurely this mode of ruling does not amount to abſolute authority. For, as he cannot enact laws, declare war, or levy taxes, without the conſent of the diet; emergencies muſt occur which may render it neceſſary to convene that aſſembly; when the latter may redreſs grievances, or repair any breaches in the conſtitution.

In fact, his preſent majeſty, though neither preſſed by foreign war, nor by any material exigency, did, within ſix years from the time of his obtaining an exemption from the neceſſity of convening the ſtates, conceive it expedient to ſummon them; and experienced that oppoſition which characterizes the repreſentatives of a free people. In the houſe of nobles, for inſtance, a memorial was laid upon the table, wherein it was ſaid, that there were no fixed laws; that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1772 had been for ſome time obſerved; but that lately many of the king's friends had appealed to that of 1616, as the proper model by which the adminiſtration was to regulate its proceedings. Which conſtitution

ſtitution was to be conſidered as at preſent ſubſiſting?—Other propoſitions very offenſive to the royal ear were diſcuſſed in this memorial, and it was intended to have been formally recited at the next meeting; but, to prevent this meaſure, the king ſummoned the ſtates to the palace, and diſſolved them. His majeſty, in his ſpeech delivered on that occaſion, declared himſelf chagrined at the complaints unjuſtly levelled againſt his conduct. He added, that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1772 ſhould always be regarded by him as the true conſtitution; that he never wiſhed to deviate from it in the ſlighteſt degree; and that, as many perſons had endeavoured to create a miſunderſtanding between him and the ſtates, he had on that account adopted the reſolution of diſſolving them: a ſtyle of harangue that would not have been adopted by an abſolute king.

In a word, whether the preſent form of government be likely to laſt, or whether it may not be as ſuddenly overturned as it was introduced by a new revolution; whether it may not, in proceſs of time, degenerate into an arbitrary monarchy, or relapſe into its priſtine anarchy; are not here the objects of

inquiry: the queſtion relates ſolely to the nature of the conſtitution as it ſubſiſts at preſent; which the more accurately we examine, the leſs ſcrupulouſly ſhall we decide, that the king of Sweden is a limited, and not a deſpotic ſovereign.

The truth of the obſervation, that the king of Sweden is a limited and not an abſolute monarch, though controverted by ſome authors, is ſtill farther confirmed by the tranſactions of the diet which aſſembled in May 1786, in which ſeveral new regulations were ſettled, tending to limit the prerogative in the power of making, amending, and repealing laws, of removing perſons from public employments, in the impoſition of taxes, and the permanency of the revenue.

In regard to the firſt point, the power of making, amending, and repealing laws, it had long been a queſtion of diſpute, whether a bill being propoſed by the king, if two houſes were for it, and two againſt it, the deciſion ſhould be left to his majeſty: but it was finally reſolved by the ſtates, and agreed to by the king, that under theſe circumſtances the propoſed bill ſhould not take place; and that when three houſes were of the ſame opinion, that

that opinion ſhould be conſidered as the ſenſe of the ſtates; all queſtions of privilege and taxation excepted, in which the unanimous conſent of the four houſes ſhould be requiſite.

With reſpect to the ſecond point, the power of removing perſons from public employments, it was reſolved that, whereas the king, in the ſecond article of the form of government, promiſes not to ruin any man as to his life and honour, body or welfare, unleſs lawfully convicted and judged; under the word *welfare* are included public offices and employments: no man, therefore, can be deprived of any civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical employment, without previous trial or judgment, according to the laws of the land, excepting thoſe public officers of ſtate, and committees mentioned in the form of government, who are liable, as before, to be removed by the king.

As to the third point, it was decreed, that the ſubſidies voted at the preceding diet to remain in force till the next meeting of the ſtates, ſhould now be continued for four years only; and that one per cent. ſhould be deducted; a deduction which, however ſmall, was made in order to prove, that the grant of the extraordinary revenues depended entirely

on the good pleaſure of the diet, and that the revenue of the crown was by no means fixed and permanent. An important regulation, which almoſt renders it neceſſary for the king to ſummon the diet in four years, unleſs he can render (what is not poſſible) his fixed revenue equal to the public expenditure.

But as an additional proof that the king, by the revolution of 1772, was not deſpotic, it is only neceſſary to add, that he has lately obtained new prerogatives; and has effected, with the conſent of the ſtates, ſome changes in the form of government, which render him ſtill more powerful.

When the king was leading his army into Ruſſia, and was preparing to beſiege Frederickſham, which if he had taken he might have marched perhaps almoſt without interruption to the gates of Peterſburgh, he was checked in the midſt of his career by the revolt of ſeveral of his officers, who refuſed to paſs the limits of Swediſh Finland, under the pretence that the king had no power to carry on offenſive war without the conſent of the ſtates.

A deſpotic ſovereign would inſtantly have arreſted and condemned the refractory officers to death, have appointed others in their places, and

and have continued his progreſs againſt the enemy. But the king, who was not deſpotic, arreſted the officers, ſent them to Stockholm, to be tried according to the laws of their country, and immediately recalled his troops from the Ruſſian territory.

Not long afterwards he convened the ſtates, laid before them the motives which induced him to attack Ruſſia, obtained from the majority of the four houſes an approbation of his conduct, and ſupplies for the ſupport of the war.

Convinced alſo from recent experience, that the king ought to poſſeſs the power of declaring offenſive war, and of diſpoſing of all military commiſſions under him, he propoſed, under the title of the Act of Union and Safety, ſeveral alterations in the new form of government. The three houſes of clergy, burghers, and peaſants, acceded to this act; but, as the nobles perſiſted uniformly in oppoſing it, and refuſed to regiſter it as the ſenſe of the ſtates, the king ventured to arreſt the principal perſons in oppoſition; and ſummoning the ſtates to his palace, he addreſſed the order of nobles in the following manner:

"I have waited with every indulgence the

" iſſue of your long deliberations, in the hope " that patience and reflection would at length " overcome your oppoſition. I find, however, " that this hope has proved fruitleſs; knowing " that the intereſts of my ſubjects will not " admit of any longer delay, and as the laws of " the kingdom, and the reſolutions of the diet " in 1786, ſtate that every future act, tending " to explain the conſtitution (and ſuch is the " Act of Safety) ſhould become a law by the " plurality of the orders of the ſtate, I con- " ſider that your preſident, Count Lowen- " haupt, is fully competent to ſign the act, in " the name and on behalf of your order."

Count Lowenhaupt immediately ſigned it.

Theſe ſtrong meaſures were not effected without the connivance of the three other houſes; and the bulk of the people undoubtedly ſided with the king.

The king has alſo ſtill further extended his own prerogative, and diminiſhed the influence of the nobles, by aboliſhing the ſenate, which, though deprived of its powers by the revolution of 1772, was ſtill conſidered as the principal ſupport of the ariſtocratical intereſt, and was the great channel of political and judicial diſcuſſion. Inſtead of a body entirely confined

to

to the nobles, and conſtituting the firſt ſupreme court of juſtice, and whoſe conſent was neceſſary in order to render valid all acts and decrees of the crown, the king has appointed a new council, divided into two departments:

1. Called the court of reviſion for judicial affairs, or the ſupreme court of judicature, without appeal, and conſiſting of ſix nobles and ſix commoners.

2. For matters of inferior œconomy, conſiſting of eight nobles and four commoners.

But even by theſe increaſed prerogatives, conferred on the crown by the Act of Safety, the king is ſtill far from being a deſpot, becauſe he does not poſſeſs, what I cannot but conſider as the two great features of deſpotiſm, the power of enacting laws, and of impoſing taxes. Though he now enjoys the prerogative of declaring war and making peace, yet as he cannot ſupport a war without the grant of ſubſidies, and as he cannot lay on a ſingle tax without the conſent of the ſtates, the declaration of war muſt be conſidered as a mere formality, and as ultimately depending on the approbation of the ſtates.

It is not my intention to enter into a controverſy, how far the powers poſſeſſed by the

king of Sweden are too great for the ſovereign of a free people; or whether the ſtates have acted inconſiſtently or unwiſely in granting ſuch an extent of prerogative: this much is certain, that the changes were effected by the conſent of the majority of the ſtates, and with the concurrence of the people at large; and that the ſame powers which acceded to the Act of Safety may, on ſome future occaſion, limit the royal prerogative, if found to be too dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject. The king has but a ſmall ſtanding army; the greateſt part of the troops conſiſt of a national militia, who, inſtead of ſupporting him in any arbitrary meaſure, would be the firſt to oppoſe him. And as almoſt the whole body of the nobility, whom he has diſguſted and lowered, watch his conduct with a jealous eye, and are ready to oppoſe his meaſures and moleſt his government, whenever he ſummons the ſtates, the permanence of the king's authority ultimately depends on conciliating the three houſes of the clergy, citizens, and peaſants, and on the affections of his people.

The diet, in which reſides the ſupreme legiſlative authority, is compoſed of the king, whoſe prerogatives have been already related; and

and the ſtates, which are convened at the ſole will of the crown, and conſiſt of the four houſes,

I. Of Nobles;
II. Of the Clergy;
III. Of Citizens; and,
IV. Of Peaſants.

I. The firſt Houſe is that of the Nobles.

They are divided into counts, barons, and untitled nobility. A family once ennobled continues ſo from generation to generation, as well in the direct line as in its various collateral branches *: all poſſeſs the ſame general

* The reader will excuſe the length of the following quotation, as well in conſideration of the juſtneſs of the remarks, and its application to the ſubject in the text, as becauſe it clearly and preciſely aſcertains the difference between the Engliſh and foreign nobility.

" England is the only country in Europe where the " diſtinction, for inſtance, of noble and not noble, is carried " no farther than the nature of the government requires it " ſhould; becauſe there the nobility do not, as ſuch, form " a diſtinct claſs from the reſt of the nation. As it is only " the head of each noble family, who is there entitled to the " honours

neral privileges; which conſiſt principally in the capacity of being ſenators, chamberlains, or of holding other civil employments about the king's perſon and court, and in an exemption from the poll-tax. The power of

" honours and privileges of the peerage, it is not the man " who can count a long train of titled anceſtors, but the " hereditary legiſlator, who is himſelf noble. The younger " branches of theſe families, as they have no ſhare in the " legiſlature, are but little, if (by courteſy) at all diſtinguiſh- " ed from their fellow-ſubjects; with whom they and their " deſcendants aſſimilate, and are ſoon, if I may ſo expreſs " myſelf, melted down into the general maſs of the people. " Hence theſe become a ſort of link between the nobility " and the commoners; a link that, connecting their in- " tereſts, prevents all diviſion between theſe two orders in " their capacity of members of the ſame ſociety, and which " forms of that ſociety a continued chain, no part of which " can be touched without affecting, by an almoſt electrical " communication, all the reſt. In other countries, where " thoſe who have been once ennobled tranſmit the honours " and privileges of nobility to all their poſterity alike, there " is no link to connect the nobles to the reſt of the nation; " on the contrary, a line is drawn between them to per- " petuity; a line which cuts, as it were, the chain of ſo- " ciety in two, the ſevered ends of which appear rather to " repel than attract each other. There, conſequently, that " conjunction of views and intereſts cannot take place in " the nation at large, to which I have ſaid a free conſtitu- " tion muſt, in a great degree, owe its ſafety." Sheridan, p. 143.

creating

creating new nobility is veſted in the king; but the number is limited. In a diet held under Adolphus Frederic, it was enacted, that no additional ones ſhould be appointed until the families of this order were reduced to 1200; and at the revolution of 1772 his preſent majeſty obtained the right of adding 150. The head of each noble family, in the direct line, is by birth a member of this houſe; and repreſents, in his perſon, all the younger part of that line, as well as the collateral branches. If he happens to be a ſenator, he is incapacitated by his office from a place in the diet; but enjoys the power of transferring his ſeat to another noble. The ſeat of a repreſentative, who declines attending, is filled by the perſon who is next in ſucceſſion *. As there are about 1200 noble families, if

* Formerly each head had the power of transferring his ſeat to any one noble; but as this privilege gave riſe to a ſcandalous traffic of ſelling ſeats (ſee Sheridan, p. 159), the houſe paſſed a decree, prohibiting any repreſentative from appointing a noble of another family to be his ſubſtitute, to the prejudice of his own family in all its collateral branches, any of whom might, in preference to an alien, claim a right of aſſiſting at a diet, if the chief declined attending.

each

each head attended, the members preſent in the houſe would amount to that number; but there being no neceſſity for aſſiſting at the diet, the repreſentatives vary. In the late reign, when their votes were of greater conſequence than they are under the preſent form of government, they uſually amounted to 500 or 600; and on a remarkable occaſion, when Adolphus Frederic intimated a deſign of abdicating the throne, above 1000 took their ſeats. In the late diet of 1778, 700 made their appearance *.

The nobles uſed to decide by a majority; but in the diet of 1774, the king introduced a new mode of voting into the houſe of nobles, which promiſed to give great influence to the crown; but which has not anſwered that expectation. He divided the houſe into three

* The governors of the provinces, and the colonels of each regiment, attend the ſittings of the diet, in order to deliver in their reports; but they have no vote, excepting when they take their ſeats; as is uſually the caſe, as repreſentatives in their own right, or by the transfer of the heads of noble families. Theſe circumſtances have induced ſome authors erroneouſly to aſſert that the governors and colonels are, from their offices, entitled to ſeats and votes in the houſe of nobles.

claſſes:

claſſes: 1. Counts and Barons, called *Herre Claſſen.*

2. The 300 oldeſt families, neither Counts nor Barons, and the ſons of thoſe who have the title of Excellency, called *Riddare*, or knights.

3. The remainder of the nobility, called *Swerne Claſſen.*

Each of theſe claſſes votes ſeparately; and the queſtion is determined by the majority of the claſſes.

II. The ſecond Houſe is that of the Clergy *.

The repreſentatives of this order conſiſt of the fourteen biſhops, and a certain number of

* The Lutheran is the eſtabliſhed religion of Sweden. The members are biſhops, *dompropſts* or deans, *propſts* or archdeacons, *paſtors* or rectors, and *comminiſters* or perpetual curates. There are fourteen dioceſes; the archbiſhopric of Upſala, and the biſhoprics of Lindkoeping, Skara, Strængnœs, Wœſteras, Wexio, Abo, Lund, Borgo, Gotheborg, Calmar, Carlſtadt, Hermoſand, and Wiſby or Gothland. The revenues of Upſala and Wœſteras amount to about £. 1000 per annum; and thoſe of the loweſt biſhoprics to £. 300. The biſhops are bound to reſidence, excepting at the meeting of the diet. The chapters of Upſala,

of eccleſiaſtics choſen in the following manner: The king's writ being iſſued to the chapter or eccleſiaſtical court of each dioceſe, the latter diſpatches a circular letter to the archdeacon of a diſtrict having the right of election; and he communicates the ſummons to the clergymen of his ſeveral pariſhes. Every perſon poſſeſſing a benifice, and every upper and under maſter of the royal ſchools, is an elector, and may be a candidate to repreſent that diſtrict *. The electors meet at ſome place towards the center of the archdeaconry; and the perſon who has the greateſt number of votes is choſen repreſentative. The bi-

Upſala, Lund, and Abo, which are univerſities, are compoſed of the biſhops, deans, who are always *primarii profeſſores* of divinity, and the other profeſſors of divinity; in thoſe dioceſes in which there are *gymnaſia*, they conſiſt of the biſhop, dean, and the *lectores gymnaſii*, or profeſſors. In the dioceſe of Wiſby or Gothland, the chapter is formed by the biſhop and the neighbouring rectors.—There are alſo three ſuperintendents, who rank as biſhops, but do not ſit in the houſe: the firſt chaplain to the king; the rector of St. Nicholas at Stockholm; and the firſt chaplain of the navy.

* The *comminiſters*, or perpetual curates, have alſo a right to chuſe one repreſentative from the comminiſters of each dioceſe: but as they are bound to pay the repreſentative, they ſeldom make uſe of their privilege.

ſhops

ſhops are obliged to defray their own expences at the ſittings of the diet, though they uſually receive, in the larger dioceſes, 15*s.* per day; and in the ſmaller 10*s.*: but the others muſt be paid by their conſtituents about 5*s.* or 6*s.* per day. The number of the repreſentatives is uncertain, becauſe each archdeaconry has the privilege of ſending one member, or of joining with another in the choice of one: they have been ſeldom leſs than 50, and have never exceeded 80.

III. The third Houſe is that of the Citizens.

Sweden contains 104 towns, which enjoy the privilege of ſending members to the diet. Every citizen of theſe towns engaged in trade and commerce, being a freeman, and paying taxes to the town, is at the age of 21 an elector *; and every citizen, even the loweſt menial

* The right of voting depends, in different places, on different qualifications. In ſome places it is derived from a certain aſſeſſment upon capitals employed in trade; in others from a tax upon land without the boundaries of the town, &c. In all caſes, perſons who in this manner contribute

menial tradeſman, who has been a freeman during ſeven years, or an alderman during three, and who has attained the age of 24, is qualified to be a repreſentative. Summons from the crown being iſſued by the governors of the provinces, the latter tranſmit them to the mayor and aldermen of each town having the right of appointing members. The mayor aſſembles the electors in the town-hall, and their choice is determined by the majority: none but freemen are permitted to be preſent. Each repreſentative receives from his conſtituents a ſmall contribution; which, in the larger towns, amounts to about 15*s.*; and in the ſmaller to 5*s.* 4*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* per day, during their attendance at the diet. The number of members, who repreſented this order, was never preciſely the ſame. Each ſtaple town has indeed the right of ſending two; ſome of the largeſt, ſuch as Gotheborg,

contribute largely to the public impoſts, enjoy an additional number of voices proportionate to the multiples which they pay: ſuppoſing, for inſtance, an annual rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* qualifies for a vote, any perſon paying 5*s.* has two; 10*s.* four votes; and ſo on. In Gotheborg there are about 1000 electors, and ſome rich merchants poſſeſs ſeveral hundred votes.

Nordkioping,

Nordkioping, Geffle, and a few others, three; and Stockholm always deputed ten *: but ſometimes one or two ſmall towns joined to elect only one deputy; and at other times each appointed its own members. The uſual number ſeldom fell ſhort of 100, and never exceeded 200.

IV. The fourth Houſe is that of the Peaſants; whoſe repreſentatives are choſen by, and from, the following order of ſubjects.

The definition of a peaſant is a farmer employed in agriculture, poſſeſſing land of a certain tenure, who has never followed any trade, or enjoyed any civil office. This deſcription includes only thoſe whoſe anceſtors were alſo farmers; and does not entitle either nobles, citizens, or even country gentlemen, though they may purchaſe the peaſant's eſtate, either to vote, or to be returned a member. The land qualifying the farmer, who is a

* Of this number four are elected from the mayor and aldermen, two from the wholeſale merchants, two from retail traders, and two from perſons engaged in handicraft trades.

peaſant, to be an elector, muſt be either crown land, or his own property. The moſt valuable of theſe eſtates may be worth £.600, and the pooreſt about £.30. If the land is poſſeſſed by two or more peaſants, the vote is ſplit among the ſeveral proprietors, each enjoying that ſhare of the vote which is proportionate to his ſhare of the farm *; but each of them is qualified to be a repreſentative. The peaſants who thus enjoy the privilege of nominating deputies, or of being elected themſelves, may be divided into three claſſes: 1. Peaſants whoſe farms conſiſt of crown lands, which they enjoy for life upon payment of an annual quit-rent; and from which they cannot be removed but for being formally proved guilty of having neglected their culture. Upon the death of the proprietor, the leaſe is almoſt always granted to the eldeſt ſon. 2. and 3. Peaſants who have bought, at ſix years' purchaſe, either from the crown, or the nobility, the perpetuity of their farms on the payment of a quit-rent. The

* Thus a peaſant having $\frac{1}{32}$d of an eſtate qualifying for a vote, has $\frac{1}{32}$d of a vote: and theſe fractions are all added together, which frequently makes an election for a member of the diet a very complicated buſineſs.

mode of election is as follows: The writ being iſſued to the governor of the province, he ſends it to the county judges, each of whom ſummons the peaſants within his juriſdiction to meet in the court of juſtice, and in his preſence, on the day appointed for the election. The members are choſen by the majority of voices. The conſtituents join in contributing the ſum of three, four, or five ſhillings per day towards defraying the expences of their deputy at the diet. The electors who uſually aſſemble in each diſtrict are ſeldom leſs than 30, or more than 100. The number of repreſentatives in the houſe of peaſants is extremely uncertain, as two diſtricts occaſionally unite in ſending only one deputy, and at other times elect two; but, upon an average, they uſually amount to about 100.

It is a very remarkable circumſtance, that, in a conſtitution ſo free as that of Sweden, in which even the peaſants, as land-holders, are returned members to the diet, the country gentlemen, be their landed property ever ſo large, are not repreſented in the ſtates of the kingdom *; have neither any vote in the choice

* The reaſon of the country gentlemen being excluded from all ſhare in the legiſlation, was, that the form of

choice of repreſentatives, nor can be repreſentatives themſelves: a ſtrange inconſiſtency, that thoſe perſons, who are juſtly eſteemed the moſt reſpectable and incorrupt part of the body politic, ſhould not enjoy the leaſt ſhare in the legiſlature; while many mechanics and farmers, who are both as unqualified to canvas intricate political queſtions, as they are incapable of reſiſting the influence of bribery, poſſeſs that important privilege. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the limited monarchy in 1720 by the ariſtocratical party which raiſed Ulrica Eleonora to the throne, many country gentlemen ſigned an addreſs to the diet, repreſenting the impropriety of excluding ſo important an order of men from the ſtates of the realm. But as the articles of government were finally ſettled, their application was not complied with: ſo well founded and juſt, however, were the principles of their remonſtrance; that the king, at the recommendation of the diet, advanced ſeveral of the petitioners into the order of nobles.

government eſtabliſhed in 1720, was founded on the antient conſtitution of Sweden; by which the inhabitants were, as in moſt other countries of Europe, divided into nobles, clergy, citizens, and peaſants.

The

The ſtates of the kingdom, thus compoſed of the repreſentatives choſen in the manner juſt deſcribed, aſſemble at Stockholm in ſeveral places. The nobles in the houſe of nobles; the clergy in the cathedral; the citizens in the town-hall; and the peaſants in another apartment of the ſame building.

Having taken their ſeats, and choſen their reſpective ſpeakers, the four houſes repair in due form to a hall of the palace; where the king, clad in his royal robes and ſeated upon the throne, informs them, in a ſhort ſpeech, of the reaſons for which they are convened; deſiring them to aſſiſt him with their advice in the preſent juncture of affairs, and deliberate for the good of the kingdom. In anſwer to this harangue, the four ſpeakers compliment his majeſty in the name of their reſpective houſes; after which ceremony the repreſentatives immediately retire.

Laws are enacted in the following manner: During the ſittings of the diet, every member of the four houſes has the privilege of propoſing a queſtion to the conſideration of the aſſembly to which he belongs. A debate takes place upon the motion, which is carried or rejected by a majority. If it paſſes in one

houſe, it is ſent by a deputation to each of the others; and, if aſſented to by three, is preſented by the four ſpeakers to the king: his majeſty afterwards ſummons the ſtates to the palace, and communicates to them his aſſent or diſſent in form. The latter negatives the bill, and the former gives to it the ſanction of a law. If the bill originates from the king, it is thus brought in: his majeſty lays it before the ſenators, and having obtained their opinions in writing, refers it to the diſcuſſion of the ſtates; if they approve it, the four houſes repair to the palace, and communicate their aſſent to his majeſty; if it is rejected, they tranſmit their determination in writing by their ſpeakers, and accompany it with the reaſons which had induced them to diſſent. When the king chuſes to put an end to the diet; he ſummons the ſtates to the palace, and diſſolves them by a ſpeech.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

General Remarks on the I. Population;—II. Commerce;—III. Revenues and Expenditure;—IV. Bank of Stockholm;—*V. Military eſtabliſhment;—And, VI. Penal Laws, of* Sweden.

THE population is perhaps more accurately aſcertained in Sweden than in any other part of Europe; which is owing to the peculiar care and attention paid by government to obtain a correct regiſter of the marriages, births, and deaths. For this purpoſe a *Tabell Commiſſion*, or a board for inſpecting and regiſtering the bills of mortality, reſident at Stockholm, was inſtituted in 1749; which maintains a correſpondence with all the pariſhes and towns in the kingdom. Tables are diſtributed to the clergymen and magiſtrates for the purpoſe of enrolling the marriages, births, and deaths in their reſpective diſtricts, and ſpecifying the number of inhabitants at that time ſubſiſting; and extraordinary care is taken to prevent miſtakes.

The firſt table is for a general liſt of the births, deaths, and marriages; the ſecond for the bills of mortality; the third for the number of inhabitants. The two former are kept by the pariſh-prieſts, and annually delivered; the latter by the pariſh-prieſt in the country, and by the magiſtrates in the towns, and are ſent to the board at the end of every third year *. A copy of the two former tables is here ſubjoined, as their uſeful tendency is evident; and as an inſtitution of a ſimilar nature could not fail of being highly advantageous to every country.

* The aſcertaining of the number of inhabitants is greatly facilitated by the poll-tax, and by the care taken by the clergy to keep exact regiſters. About thirty years ago the diet paſſed a law, that every perſon in Sweden, both male and female, ſhould learn to read. This regulation is conſidered as part of the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; and is particularly attended to by the clergy, who examine the children in their reſpective pariſhes.

TABLE

THE ASTOR

for the year 17—.

rom 1—3		From 3—5		From 5—10.		10—15, and so on for every 5 years to 100		Total of Deaths and their Disorders.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	

The celebrated aſtronomer, Mr. Wargentin, a member of this uſeful ſociety, has publiſhed, in the Tranſactions of the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences, a very clear and accurate account of the manner in which the board carries on its correſpondence, and collects the neceſſary information; and has drawn from the ſeveral regiſters an average computation of the annual deaths.

From ſeveral judicious calculations, formed from the regiſters of nine ſucceſſive years, he computes, that, in the country, the annual proportion of deaths to births is as 1 to 35, or, if the year is remarkably healthy, to 36 or even 37; and at Stockholm as 1 to 20. He adds, that during the ſame period, there were 2036 men and 3540 women above the age of 90; of whom 212 men and 328 women were between 100 and 105; 31 men and 76 women between 106 and 110; 22 men and 19 women between 111 and 120; one man was 122; and one woman 127. At the end is a table of the marriages, deaths, and births, from 1755 to 1763. We find, in Cantzler's * State of Sweden, that, in 1760, the population amounted to 2,383,113 ſouls; that of theſe were 162,888 inhabitants of towns, excluſive of the nobility and clergy; and 2,220,225 perſons living in the country, including the nobility and clergy; and that, according to a fair calculation, the whole number might be claſſed in the following proportion; 10,645 nobles, comprizing 3597 under 15 years; 18,197 eccleſiaſtics and their families, and ſtudents, including 7073 under 15; 162,888 inhabitants of towns and their families

* P. 186. Memoires pour ſervir à la connoiſſance du Royaume de Swede; an excellent work, which, for accuracy and information, cannot be too highly recommended.

engaged

engaged in arts, manufactures, and trades; 2,191,383 inhabitants of the country employed in agriculture, the mines, &c.

I ſhall cloſe this account with a liſt of the births and deaths in Sweden, and the number of inhabitants. The reader will not doubt its accuracy, when he is informed that I received it from Mr. Wargentin.

The liſt is claſſed according to the three great diviſions of the kingdom.

In the firſt diviſion, called Sweden Proper, comprehending the metropolis, Upland, Sodermanland, Nerike, Weſtmanland, Dalecarlia, and all the provinces to the North.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	12774	12605	25379	10857	11622	22479
1750	13708	13253	26961	10035	10110	20145
1751	15247	14518	29765	9916	10236	20152
1752	14347	13703	28050	11875	11948	23823
1774	15364	14971	30335	10029	10617	20646
1775	16180	15697	31877	10882	10920	21802
1776	15220	14537	29757	10622	10621	21243
1777	15047	14541	29588	12120	12118	24238

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	363541	419326	782867
1776	433494	480154	913648

In the kingdom of Gothland, comprehending Warmeland, Wœſtergothland, Oſtergothland, and all the provinces ſouth of them, with the iſlands of Oeland and Gothland.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	17327	16777	34104	13785	13852	27037
1750	19111	18439	37550	13406	14071	27477
1751	20016	19510	39526	13166	13584	26750
1752	18831	18092	36923	12698	12946	25644
1774	19507	18678	38185	11506	12311	23817
1775	20301	19465	39766	13691	14456	28147
1776	19016	18166	37182	11999	12454	24453
1777	19466	18570	38036	13227	13797	27024

Number

Number of Inhabitants.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	477079	525781	1,002860
1776	553171	594985	1,148156

In Finland.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	8546	8257	16803	5827	5828	11655
1750	8879	8550	17429	5446	5777	11223
1751	9508	9342	18850	5149	5326	10475
1752	9737	9658	19395	5698	5702	11400
1774	12211	11731	23942	6431	6321	12752
1775	12296	12167	24463	7681	7782	15463
1776	12044	11880	23924	9361	9362	18723
1777	12609	12223	24832	9880	9915	19795
1778	13614	13202	26816	8010	7688	15698
1779	14180	13579	27759	7223	6872	14095

Number of Souls in Finland.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	205002	224910	429912
1776	298322	311823	610145

Liſt of Births and Deaths in the whole Kingdom.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	38647	37639	76286	29869	31302	61171
1750	41698	40242	81940	28887	29958	58845
1751	44771	43370	88141	28231	29146	57377
1752	42915	41453	84368	30592	30275	60867
1774	47082	45380	92462	27966	29249	57215
1775	47492	46030	93522	32254	33158	65412
1776	46280	44583	90863	31982	32437	64419
1777	47122	45334	92456	35227	35830	71957

Number of Souls in Sweden.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	1,045622	1,170017	2,215639
1776	1,284987	1,386962	2,671949
1781	About —	—	2,767000

By

By comparing the population of theſe three different epochs, the reader will perceive that the country has been gradually recovering from that exhauſted ſtate to which it had been reduced by the wars of Charles XII.; and that, within the ſpace of thirty years, the number of inhabitants have increaſed 551,361, or a fifth part of its preſent population.

II. The Commerce. A general idea of the commerce of Sweden will be beſt found by the following tables.

ESTIMATE

ESTIMATE of the COMMERCE of SWEDEN with the following Countries, in the Year 1781.

	EXPORTS.			IMPORTS.			Balance in Favour of Sweden.			Balance againſt Sweden.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Denmark and Norway	160,063	11	6¾	66,595	10	11¼	93,468	0	7½			
Dantzic	22,358	3	11½	33,246	3	0¼	—	—		10,887	19	0¾
England	367,292	16	1¾	97,762	4	7	269,530	11	6¾			
France	203,762	18	2¾	83,145	10	2½	120,617	8	0¼			
Holland	107,103	8	10¼	151,583	3	6½	—	—		44,479	14	8¼
Konigſberg and Pruſſia	49,689	2	4¾	67,580	2	4¾	—	—		17,891	0	0
Italy and the Mediterranean	82,166	6	10½	33,170	3	0¼	48,996	3	10¼			
Pomerania (Swediſh)	67,938	18	0¼	187,144	9	8¼	—	—		119,205	11	8
Portugal	125,132	3	1½	40,340	18	11½	84,791	4	2			
Ruſſia and Courland	58,229	12	8½	202,781	4	4½	—	—		144,551	11	8
Spain	23,380	17	8½	14,711	7	4½	8,669	10	3½			
Hamburgh, Holſtein, &c.	128,911	7	6	38,202	14	9½	90,708	12	8½			
Weſt Indies	873	8	6½	—	—		873	8	6½			
Eaſt Indies	122	19	4½	10,819	2	6	—	—		10,687	3	1½

NAVIGATION to and from SWEDEN in the Year 1781.

	Ships loaded.		Entered in Ballaſt.		Ships gone out loaded.	
	Swediſh.	Foreign.	Swediſh.	Foreign.	Swediſh.	Foreign.
Denmark - -	357	18	—	1	368	11
Dantzic - -	141	2	—	—	97	1
England - -	88	87	8	8	235	77
France - -	50	5	—	1	155	4
Holland - -	37	1	—	—	53	1
Konigſberg -	222	5	2	—	151	14
Mediterranean	53	—	—	—	43	
Pomerania -	256	3	—	—	185	7
Portugal - -	142	—	—	—	68	14
Ruſſia - -	509	10	—	—	524	19
Spain - -	10	—	—	—	13	
Germany - -	274	18	—	—	418	25
Weſt Indies -	2	—	—	—	1	
Eaſt Indies -	—	—	—	—	—	1

In

	£.	s.	d.
In comparing the exports * and imports for 1781, a balance in favour of the former is found, amounting to - - -	360,437	19	6½
To which is to be added the national gain by the Eaſt India commerce -	61,111	18	10½
Freights gained in the Mediterranean by Swediſh ſhips, according to the beſt and moſt authentic accounts, to - - -	50,000	0	0
£.	471,549	18	4½
Silver, gold, and divers foreign coin imported this year - - - - - - -	111,844	5	11½
Intereſt, proviſion, and brokerage for loans made or renewed abroad, as well as intereſt for the			

* See Appendix.

divers

	£.	s.	d.
divers ſums which Swediſh merchants owe, and credit given them by foreigners on part of the imports of this year, amount, according to the moſt probable accounts, to - - -	50,000	0	0
Annual preſents to the powers on the coaſt of Barbary, and other expences relating thereto, as well as appointments and ſalaries of conſuls in thoſe places, and of the Swediſh miniſter at Conſtantinople - -	13,189	18	1½
Smuggling, and frauds in declaring the amount of the merchandizes at the cuſtom-houſe - -	125,000	0	0
Balance in favour of Sweden - - -	171,515	14	4
£.	471,549	18	4½

The

III. The revenues of Sweden are chiefly drawn from the rents of the royal demeſnes; part of the great tythes; a poll-tax *; duties upon exports and imports; upon mines and forges; upon diſtilled ſpirits; deductions from ſalaries, penſions, and places; tax upon chimnies; and the monopoly of ſalt-petre.

Theſe revenues amount to ſomething more than £.1,000,000 ſterling, but may, on an average, be taken at £.1,050,000 a year: they have been much augmented ſince the revolution in 1772, as they did not then amount to more than £.750,000, or at moſt £.837,500. In this £.1,000,000 however are not included the rents of land immediately aſſigned for the militia eſtabliſhment and ſailors, and for the pay or ſalary of the governors of provinces, and their officers; theſe rents, levied directly by thoſe to whom they are aſſigned, amount at leaſt to £.300,000 or £.350,000.

* About 1*s.* 3*d.* each perſon. The poll-tax is paid by every perſon, male and female, between the ages of 15 and 63; excepting the nobles and their domeſtics; ſoldiers and government ſailors; and every married couple among the lower claſs of farmers of a certain deſcription, having four children, of which the youngeſt is under eight years of age.

The chief articles of Swediſh revenue are as follow:

	£.	s.	d.
Royal demeſnes - - -	146,250	0	0
Poll-tax - - -	56,250	0	0
Duties on export and import - - -	154,166	10	0
Extraordinary taxes granted by the ſtates - - -	30,416	10	0
The brandy, being a regale - - -	41,541	10	0
The poſt office - - -	19,000	0	0
Stamped paper - - -	12,250	0	0
Tythes on corn - -	19,500	0	0
Ditto on iron, copper, ſilver, allum, brimſtone, vitriol, mines, and lime furnaces - - -	16,812	10	0
The royal lottery - -	17,750	0	0

And above twenty or thirty other ſmaller articles, which amount however to about £. 500,000.

The expences were regulated in 1773 to anſwer exactly the revenues; but they have

ever exceeded them, and there is a conſiderable annual deficiency, which has not hitherto been made up otherwiſe than by loans or anticipations, and muſt oblige the king to call the ſtates, in order to find means to extinguiſh that increaſing debt, by any new reſources which may make the revenues more adequate to the expences *.

The average expences amount to 4,753,126 rix-dollars, or £. 1,188,281. 10s.

The chief articles of expenditure in the year 1784, were,

	£.	s.	d.
1. The king's court, including that of the queen -	78,756	10	0
2. The military, viz. the garriſon regiments, the militia not included - -	70,336	5	0

* The diet of 1788 granted a loan towards liquidating the debt occaſioned by the annual deficiency, gave ſupplies for carrying on the war, and laid on additional taxes; namely, ſix per cent. on houſe rents; eight per cent. on all places from ten rix-dollars, or £. 2. 10s. to 100 rix-dollars, or £. 25 per ann.; on titles; and three copper dollars, or 10½d. on each window-light.

	£.	s.	d.
3. Ammunition for ditto -	26,791	15	0
4. Clothing ditto - -	24,500	0	0
5. The artillery - - -	16,548	10	0
6. The navy, the new buildings included - -	118,138	10	0
7. The fortreſſes and engineers - - -	19,701	0	0
8. The gallies, &c. being ſeparate from the navy -	25,699	10	0
9. Towards the expences of the king's travels - -	50,000	0	0
10. Ships new building, extra - - - -	35,316	10	0
11. Annual ſum of extraordinaries left to the king's own diſpoſition, according to the form of government	25,000	0	0

Amongſt

Amongſt numerous ſmaller articles that make up the reſt of £.1,188,281. 10ſ. the whole of the expences, I note the following:

	£.	ſ.	d.
1. Drotningholm - -	5,129	10	0
2. The prince royal -	2,700	0	0
3. The king's ſtables -	4,755	0	0
4. The prince royal's ſtables - - - - -	612	5	0
5. Income of prince Charles - - -	12,034	0	0
6. Income of prince Frederic Adolphus - -	4,375	0	0
7. The princeſs - - -	6,647	0	0
8. The - - -	4,927	0	0
9. The guards - -	11,931	15	0
10. The life dragoons - -	6,143	5	0
11. The ſenate - - -	14,583	5	0
12. The parliament of Stockholm - -	5,080	5	0
13. Penſions and gratifications - - -	7,937	15	0

All that has been ſaid hitherto about the finances relates only to Sweden, Finland and Pomerania not included: Pomerania is entirely ſeparated in the accounts and eſtimates, as its expences are to be defrayed from its own revenues; but Finland, though ſeparated from Sweden in the yearly eſtimates, is, however, ſupported by the Swediſh revenues, out of which about £. 12,500 annually make up the deficiency in the Finland revenues: this deficiency ariſes chiefly from the great expences occaſioned by the fortreſs of Sveaborg, the military, and the gallies. The revenues of Finland amount to £. 100,000 per annum, and its expences to £. 112,500; to which muſt be added the rents of land conſigned to pay the militia, governors, &c. which may amount to between £. 25,000 and £. 30,000 ſterling.

RECAPI-

RECAPITULATION.

The revenues of Sweden -	£. 1,050,000
of Finland - -	100,000
of Pomerania - -	50,000
The rents of lands in Sweden	300,000
in Finland - -	25,000
The total income of the Swediſh revenues amount to	£. 1,525,000

This ſum, in caſe of neceſſity, might be conſiderably augmented, partly by new taxes granted by the ſtates, thoſe now paid being very moderate; partly by free gifts from the bank of Sweden, out of its annual profits, which are conſiderable, but cannot be diſpoſed of without the conſent of the ſtates.

IV. The bank of Stockholm owes its origin to Mr. Palmſhut, a merchant, who carried on a very extenſive trade, and poſſeſſed great property in iron mines. He eſtabliſhed at Stockholm a bank for the purpoſe of exchanging and lending money, divided into two departments for thoſe different purpoſes. As he was the only banker at that time in the

kingdom, his correſpondence was very extenſive; and his credit was ſo well ſupported by his private fund, and the profit of his iron works, that the notes which he iſſued at the intereſt of eight per cent. for a term of ten years and upwards, were circulated through the kingdom, and received as ready caſh by the trading part of the nation.

But in proceſs of time, ſeveral counterfeit notes being iſſued, many of his debtors refuſing either to reimburſe the capital or to diſcharge the intereſt, the goods and pawns upon which the money was lent being too numerous to be diſpoſed of to advantage, and the proceedings of the courts of law too dilatory, the bank was drained of caſh, and its credit in danger of ſinking into diſrepute.

In this dilemma Mr. Palmſhut applied to Charles XI. explained the general ſtate of his bank, proved that the fund was by no means deficient, but that unleſs he could recover what was due he ſhould be in danger of becoming bankrupt. He intreated, therefore, the king to take the bank under his royal direction; and demonſtrated, that by certain regulations the money could be recovered, the accounts ſettled, and the loſſes entirely repaired.

The

The king approved the propoſal, took the bank under his own protection, and appointed Palmſhut director.

His majeſty having eſtabliſhed the credit and ſecurity of the bank, transferred the direction to the ſtates of the kingdom aſſembled in 1688, declared himſelf and his ſucceſſors protectors of the bank, but renounced all interference or influence in diſpoſing of the money, under any pretext. The ſtates being thus declared guarantees, proprietors, and directors of the bank, ſeveral regulations were made, of which the following were the principal:

That the bank ſhould lend money upon good ſecurity, at the intereſt of eight per cent. and ſhould pay for all money borrowed only ſix per cent.; that the debtors ſhould diſcharge intereſt upon intereſt, but that the bank ſhould not pay intereſt upon intereſt; that all the king's revenues ſhould be depoſited in the bank, but without receiving any intereſt. The bank was empowered to iſſue notes not exceeding the value of thirty-ſix dollars copper mint, or 10*s.*; and it was finally reſolved, that the ſtates, or thoſe whom they ſhould depute, ſhould have the power of inſpecting the accounts,

counts, and of inquiring into the nature of its conſtitution. By theſe regulations the credit and riches of the bank increaſed to that degree, that towards the cloſe of the laſt century it became the univerſal depoſitory of the whole kidgdom, both as to public and private circulation, and lowered the intereſt from eight to ſeven per cent, and afterwards to ſix, four, and three per cent. In return, the intereſt for all money borrowed, or depoſited in the bank by way of loan, was likewiſe leſſened from ſix to four and an half, three, and two per cent.

The large quantity of copper money then current in the country being by reaſon of its bulk and weight extremely inconvenient, rendered the circulation of bank notes advantageous to trade and commerce.

The bank ſupplied Charles the Twelfth with ſuch conſiderable ſums from 1714 to 1717 that the revenues ariſing from the tolls and cuſtoms were inſufficient to pay the intereſt, and there was a conſiderable deficiency.

Theſe ſupplies greatly diminiſhed the public opinion in favour of the bank, and would have undermined its credit, if the king, upon the remonſtrance of the ſtates, had not mortgaged

gaged certain revenues of the crown, for the purpoſe of diſcharging the intereſt. His majeſty at the ſame time declared, that all the revenues then mortgaged ſhould remain in the hands of the bank, until the debt ſhould be fully diſcharged; and promiſed, that he would not, on any pretext or emergency, have again recourſe to the bank for money, except for ſuch as belonged to the crown. By this ſtep the credit of the bank was in ſome meaſure retrieved; but its ſtock was too far drained to repair entirely its former credit, until Baron Goertz undeſignedly contributed to it by a ſcheme in every other reſpect detrimental to the nation. In order to ſupply Charles with money for his conſtant wars, Goertz hit upon the following deſpotic expedient: He compelled perſons firſt, by means of fines and penalties, and afterwards by a ſpecies of torture, to deliver up their plate, jewels, and coin. In return for theſe effects they received copper currency, called *myntellen*, or ſigns of coins, each weighing only one-third of a ſtyver, but paſſing for a ſilver dollar, or ten-pence, of which it was only a 96th part.

The public finding their property thus forcibly torn from them, and receiving no other

other equivalent than a debaſed currency, which fell ſhort of its nominal value, ſecretly transferred their plate, jewels, and money, to the bank, relying on his majeſty's ſolemn promiſe, that the bank ſhould be exempted from the interference and inſpection of the crown. Baron Goertz, conſidering this mode of proceeding as fraudulent to the crown, endeavoured to prevail upon his majeſty to ſeize the money and effects depoſited in the bank; but the king not only poſitively refuſed to break his royal word, which he had ſolemnly pledged to his people, but even forbade Goertz from laying before him any propoſals that might tend to the prejudice of the bank.

In this criſis of affairs the bank received ſuch large ſums of money, great part of which, being placed for ſecurity, paid no intereſt, that the profits were very conſiderable. This flouriſhing ſtate of affairs induced the bank, by order of the ſtates, in 1741, to preſent the king with a donative of 100,000 ſilver dollars, or £.8,333. 4s, and to furniſh him with 500,000, or £.41,666, without intereſt, towards carrying on the war againſt Ruſſia. Since that period it has frequently advanced large ſums of money to the crown and to the board of manufactures, by order of the ſtates.

The

The bank is divided into two departments, the one called *Læne* or loan, and the other *Wexel* or exchange bank, each keeping its accounts as ſeparate as if they were two diſtinct eſtabliſhments, but each mutually ſupplying the other as occaſion requires.

The loan bank lends money upon mortgages or pledges in the following manner:— Gold and ſilver in block, copper, braſs, and *læne bank ſedlar*, or certificates of having lent money to the bank, being conſidered as nearly the ſame value as ready money, the proprietors, on depoſiting thoſe pledges in the bank, receive the full value, on the payment of three per cent. annual intereſt.

Formerly jewels were received as pledges; but as the bank was once conſiderably defrauded in that article, and on account of their fluctuation in value, they are no longer admitted.

As iron is a principal article in the exports of Sweden, and as the working of the mines is attended with conſiderable expence, and the ſale of the iron uncertain, the bank receives that metal as a proper ſecurity for a loan. The iron being duly appraiſed, and lodged in the public warehouſe, the proprietor receives three-fourths of its value at the

the bank, which tended to ſecure its credit, and rendered it ſtill farther independent of the crown.

The principal regulations were as follows: That only £. 250,000 ſhould be annually lent on eſtates, above what was already advanced; that the eſtates already mortgaged ſhould, on failure of the payment of one year's intereſt at the appointed time, be immediately ſold by auction, the debt to the bank diſcharged, and the remainder paid to the proprietors; that the loan on the mortgaged eſtates ſhould not be continued when the ſaid eſtates were ſold or transferred without the conſent of the bank; and that on the ſucceſſion or transfer of ſuch eſtates two per cent. of the mortgaged property ſhould be paid to the bank.

The independence of the bank on the crown was ſtill farther eſtabliſhed by the diet of 1784, which ſettled the following regulations:

A committee of reviſors was appointed for the purpoſe of ſuperintending and inſpecting the accounts. This committee conſiſts of a certain number of perſons choſen by the three houſes of nobles, clergy, and burghers, from their reſpective orders, who continue in office till the meeting of a new diet, when they are either

either renewed or confirmed. They aſſemble once every three years, and continue ſitting not more than a month. They inſpect the general ſtate of the bank, compare the accounts of the directors, and obſerve that no abuſes have been committed, and that the regulations of the ſtates have been followed.

But as by the new conſtitution the calling of the ſtates entirely depends upon the will of the king, and as a great length of time might elapſe in the intervals of the diet, it was carefully provided, that the crown ſhould not have the ſmalleſt part in the appointment of a vacant reviſor's place. The mode of election is as follows:

Of the nobles the vacant place is filled by the remaining noble reviſors, and by certain deputies nominated by the houſe of nobles at the diet, who continue electors until the meeting of the next diet.

On a vacancy among the eccleſiaſtical reviſors, the clergy of Stockholm notify the vacancy to the conſiſtories in each province, and appoint the day of election. The new reviſor is choſen by the majority of the ſeveral conſiſtories.

On a vacancy among the reviſors of the order of burghers, the magiſtrates of Stockholm

notify in the ſame manner the vacancy and day of election to all the borough towns; which likewiſe chooſe the new reviſor either by deputies or letters.

No country perhaps has ever, in a greater degree than Sweden, experienced ſuch ſevere diſtreſſes from a want of gold and ſilver ſpecie; from a ſcarcity even of copper money *, and its enormous bulk; and from the fluctuating value of the bank notes, which at one period formed almoſt the only currency. Theſe evils, noticed by many travellers † who have

* On account of the advantages attending the exportation of the copper money, the intrinſic value of which was ſuperior to its nominal, and the immenſe number of bank-notes, there was ſcarcely any thing but paper currency. At one period even private ſhopkeepers iſſued ſmall printed notes, ſome ſo low as 1*d.* 2*d.* or 3*d.* value, which they gave in exchange for the bank-notes.

† The reader will eaſily conceive the preſent improvements of the coin by the following paſſage in Mr. Wraxall's Tour which he made in 1774, only five years before I viſited Sweden. "Whatever quantity of precious me-
"tals they have in the metropolis of this kingdom, I have
"not yet ſeen one bit, however ſmall, either of gold or
"ſilver, in my long journey from Helſimborg to this place;
"nor have they, I am well aſſured, any ſuch commodities
"in the provinces. In lieu of theſe two articles, generally
"uſed amongſt us, they have two other articles which ſup-
"ply

have written upon Sweden, and which threatened a total bankruptcy, are now entirely removed by the king; to whom the ſtates of 1772 conſigned the difficult province of reforming the currency. His majeſty having obtained in Holland a loan of £.750,000, called in a conſiderable part of the banknotes, and introduced ſuch a plentiful ſupply of ſilver coin, remarkable for its purity and convenience; that in the courſe of my progreſs through Sweden, I found not the leaſt difficulty of procuring, even in the diſtant provinces and ſmalleſt towns, ſilver money in exchange for gold or bank notes. The king has alſo, in a great meaſure, aboliſhed the numerous and complicated modes of pecuniary computation, which varied in different places, and under different circumſtances; and has enjoined one ſimple ſpecies of reckoning

" ply their place, namely, copper and paper. Their bank " notes are as low as one ſhilling and ſixpence; and they " have them of all values, riſing gradually from that ſum. " It is often not a little diverting, when I tendered them " one of fifty copper dollars, which is adequate to 12*s.* 6*d.* " to ſee them bring both their hands full of copper coins; " nor can they convert it into current money by any other " means." Wraxall's Tour, p. 96.

to be general throughout the kingdom, and to be indiſcriminately uſed on all occaſions *.

V. The military eſtabliſhment.

The Swediſh army is divided into national militia and garriſon regiments. The latter, or troops upon the German footing, are compoſed of natives and foreigners duly inliſted, and are ſtationed in the ſeveral garriſons, and receive their pay in money. Although the national militia firſt took a regular form under John III. yet its fixed eſtabliſhment, as it ſubſiſts at preſent, was ſettled by Charles XI.

* They computed, on different occaſions, and in different parts of the kingdom, by tons of gold, ſilver dollars, copper dollars, rixdollars, plotes, ſtivers, runſtics, or œhres, ſome whereof were imaginary, while the intrinſic worth of others was different from their real. A ton of gold = 100,000 ſilver dollars, or 300,000 copper dollars, ſilver money being of triple value to copper money; a rixdollar = 5*s.*; a plote = 1*s.* 8*d*; ſilver dollar = 10*d.*; a copper dollar = $3\frac{1}{3}d.$ = 10 ſtivers and 2 runſtics; a ſtiver = .1 farthing and $\frac{1}{2}$ = 3 runſtics or copper œhres. The new mode of computation introduced by his majeſty, is by rixdollars, ſkelins, and runſtics. A rixdollar = 5*s.* contains 48 ſkelins, and a ſkelin 12 runſtics. This mode has been adopted by government, and will, in proceſs of time, become general; though the people are, from long habit, ſo attached to their antient complicated manner of reckoning, that they will not readily renounce it.

That

That prince reſumed the grants of the crown-demeſnes which had been laviſhed by his predeceſſors: ſome he reſtored, on condition that the proprietors of a certain portion ſhould furniſh a ſoldier; others he allotted for the maintenance of the officers. It was alſo enacted during his reign, that the lands thus aſſigned for the ſupport of the national militia, ſhould for ever remain appropriated to that purpoſe; and theſe regulations were further confirmed and augmented in 1723, with the additional clauſe, that they ſhould be conſidered as a fundamental part of the conſtitution, and ſhould never be aboliſhed.

In order to comprehend the nature of the Swediſh militia, it is neceſſary to obſerve that the kingdom is divided into diſtricts, which are reſpectively bound to furniſh and maintain a ſtipulated number of troops. With this view, each holder of a certain quantity of crown-land, called a *Hemman*, provides a ſoldier; aſſigns for his maintenance a ſmall portion of ground, a cottage, and a barn; and allows him 100 copper dollars, or £. 1. 7*s*. 8½*d*. per annum, a ſuit of coarſe clothes, and two pair of ſhoes. When the ſoldier is abſent, either with the army in time

of war, during the annual reviews, or is employed in the ſervice of government; the landholder cultivates his ground * for the ſubſiſtence of his wife and family; and, when he is preſent, may call upon him to work at the rate of the common wages beſtowed upon a labourer †. Upon the death of the ſoldier, his widow and children are obliged to cede the ground and houſe to his ſucceſſor, whom the landholder is bound to provide within the ſpace of three months upon pain of being fined.

With reſpect to the cavalry, a certain number of *hemmans* are joined to furniſh a man and horſe fully equipped, and to maintain them both.

* In my route through Sweden, I ſtopped to examine a portion of ground appropriated to the maintenance of a corporal of infantry: it meaſured 147 yards in length, and 117 in breadth; but as it was in general a deep ſand, only part was capable of being advantageouſly cultivated, ſo that it was by no means ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the corporal and his family.

† On an average a man's wages may be reckoned at $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per day; excepting in harveſt-time, then they are ſeldom leſs than $11d.$ and ſometimes as high as $1s.\ 10d.$ for mowing in the fertile and well-cultivated provinces. A woman may gain about $3d.$ per day.

Beſide

Beſide 4*s*. 2*d*. annually paid by the proprietors of each *hemman*, towards defraying the expence of the ſoldiers uniforms, ſome crown-demeſnes are ſet apart for the ſame purpoſe, but in ſo ſmall a quantity, as to be ſcarcely adequate to the charge of clothing two regiments. On this account, as the national troops are not, in time of peace, under arms for a longer ſpace than three weeks, they are ſeldom provided with new uniforms oftener than once in eight or nine years. Upon a ſimilar principle, the officers of theſe national troops receive, inſtead of their pay in money, certain eſtates in land, called *boſtælle*, which are ſituated in the ſame province to which the regiment belongs. They are allowed an additional appointment in corn from the king's tythes. Each province being divided into a number of *hemmans* ſufficient to ſupport a regiment; the ſmaller provinces furniſh the regiments of infantry, and the larger thoſe of cavalry. The eſtate appropriated to the colonel is ſituated towards the center of the province, and of the grounds aſſigned to his regiment; that of the captain in the middle of thoſe belonging to his company; and in a ſimilar gradation to the corporal.

In every year, either before or after the harveſt, when the peaſants are leaſt employed, the companies of each regiment are ſeparately aſſembled for a fortnight or three weeks. The landholder is obliged to tranſport the man and his baggage to the place of rendezvous; and ſupport him during his ſtay at the review. Beſide theſe annual encampments, once in three years a general review of each regiment takes place. The men are alſo conſtantly exerciſed on Sundays after divine ſervice in ſmall parties, and in larger corps for ſome time before the encampment, but more particularly in Spring. If, in time of war, theſe troops march out of the country, the crown receives the uſual contributions from the landholder, and provides the ſoldiers with clothes, proviſions, &c.

In the Spring of 1779 the following was nearly the ſtate of the Swediſh army;

REGULAR

REGULAR TROOPS.

Nine * regiments of infantry -	9,000
Two of cavalry - - - -	800
Artillery - - - -	2,900
Total of regular troops - -	12,700

NATIONAL MILITIA.

Twenty-one regiments of infantry, about - - - -	24,000
Seven of cavalry - - -	7,400
Light dragoons - - -	3,400
Total of national militia - -	34,800
Total of regular and national troops - - - -	47,500

* The largeſt regiments contain 1670, the ſmalleſt 1000, and are divided into companies. The ſtaff-officers are, a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two majors, a quarter-maſter who ranks as captain, and two adjutants.—Each company of 150 men has a captain, lieutenant, enſign, five non-commiſſioned officers, and ſix corporals, the latter of whom are included in the 150.

VI. I ſhall cloſe this chapter with a few remarks on the Penal laws.

There are four ſuperior courts of juſtice, called Hof-rætt: at Stockholm for Sweden Proper; at Joenkoeping for the kingdom of Gothland; at Abo for South Finland; and at Vaſa for North Finland. No ſentence of death paſſed by the inferior courts can be carried into execution, unleſs ratified by theſe tribunals.

Every ſmall town has one court of juſtice, called Radſtugu-rætt; and every large town two, one whereof is alſo denominated Radſtugurætt, and the other Kæmners-rætt. In Stockholm there are four Kæmners-rætter for the four diſtricts of the city.

The inferior tribunals are *Kiamar's Rætter*, which aſſemble, as occaſion requires, in the principal towns; and the *Harads Rætt*, or a kind of aſſizes, are generally held three times in the year, under the county judges. It may not be unintereſting to mention in this place, that, in the latter, there is a kind of jury conſiſting of twelve peaſants, choſen by the diſtrict,

trict, and confirmed by the governor of the province: they continue in office for life, and ſeven of them form a court. In all criminal caſes the judge demands their opinion, which prevails againſt his deciſion if they ſhould be unanimous. But this inſtitution according to practice, is a mere formality: for the jurymen in the criminal courts * are ſo ignorant and poor, that moſt of them pay an implicit deference to the dictates of the judge; their ſentiments have only force when they *all* agree; and they are not, as with us, *obliged* to be unanimous. The ſupineneſs indeed, and paſſiveneſs, of theſe inſignificant retainers of juſtice is ſo notorious, that a man, remarkable for his indolence and inattention, is commonly ſaid to be *as ſleepy as a juryman.*

The uſual modes of execution in Sweden are beheading and hanging. Every criminal capitally convicted is indulged with the privilege of petitioning the king: they either complain of unjuſt condemnation, and in that caſe demand a reviſal of their ſentence: or, if they allow themſelves to be guilty, may im-

* In civil proceſſes, the jurymen are not ſo inſignificant; being for the moſt part the richeſt peaſants.

plore

plore pardon, or a mitigation of puniſhment. So mild are the penal laws, that ſeveral offences, which in other countries are conſidered as capital, are chaſtiſed by whipping, condemnation to bread and water, impriſonment and hard labour; more than 120 ſtrokes of the rod are never inflicted; nor is a criminal ſentenced to bread and water for more than 28 days.

Many flagrant abuſes in the courts of juſtice have been reformed and corrected by the preſent king. In all caſes of high treaſon, it is enjoined that previous notice muſt be ſent to the crown before any court can commence an inquiry: an ordinance which has put a ſtop to many frivolous and vexatious accuſations, that uſed to be brought againſt the ſubject. Before the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, it was very common for perſons indicted, but not convicted, of crimes, to ſuffer an impriſonment of ſeveral years without being tried: by the abolition of many tedious forms in the preſent reign, every criminal is arraigned within a ſhort period after commitment, the good effects of which alteration require no comment. His majeſty has increaſed the ſalaries of the judges, and conſigned their ſhare of the fines inflicted

inflicted by their decision to other uses: by this judicious regulation he has greatly lessened the corruption and injustice which necessarily prevailed in those tribunals; for the scanty incomes of the judges exposed them to bribery; while a share in the fines rendered them interested in convicting the criminal. The king has also promoted the rights of humanity, by suppressing, in 1773, the cruel and absurd practice of torture, which was employed for the purpose of obtaining a confession of guilt from suspected persons.

One excellent regulation in the courts of Sweden deserves to be mentioned, and adopted in all countries; it is, that a criminal is tried without the least expence to the plaintiff or defendant. The prosecutor denounces a person suspected of guilt to the king's officer of justice, who carries on the process at the public charge.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Departure from Stockholm.—*Deſcription of* Upſala.—*Antient palace.*—*Cataſtrophe of the* Sture *family.*—*Madneſs of* Eric XIV.—*Cathedral.*—*Tomb and character of* Guſtavus Vaſa.—*Genealogical table of the kings of* Sweden *his deſcendants.*—*Tomb of* John III.—Catharine Jaghellon.—Benedict Oxenſtiern.—Laurentius Petri.—*Account of the univerſity.*—*Public Library.*—Codex Argenteus.—*Viſit to profeſſor* Bergman.—*Royal Society.*—Moraſteen, *antient place of enthronement for the kings of* Sweden.

ALTHOUGH my ſtay in Sweden was limited, I was unwilling to quit the country without viſiting Gotheborg, the moſt commercial town next to Stockholm, and viewing the canal of Trolhætta, which had been repreſented to me as a moſt ſtupendous work. My companions preferring to ſee the mines of Fahlun and Dannemora, I quitted them at Stockholm, and rejoined them at Carlſcrona. Having purchaſed an open cart,

the common travelling vehicle in this country, which was rendered more commodious by two arm-chairs hung upon ſprings; I ſet out early on the 4th of March, accompanied by a Swediſh ſervant, who ſpoke French, as my interpreter; and arrived the ſame day at Upſala, which is diſtant about 45 miles from the capital.

Upſala, which ſtands in the beginning of an open plain fertile in grain and paſture, is a ſmall, but very neat town, containing, excluſive of the ſtudents, about 3000 inhabitants. The ground plot is extremely regular: it is divided into two almoſt equal parts by the ſmall river Sala; and the ſtreets are drawn at right angles from a central kind of ſquare; a few of the houſes are built with brick and ſtuccoed; but the generality are conſtructed with trunks, ſmoothed into the ſhape of planks, and painted red, and the roofs are covered in with turf. Each houſe has its ſmall court-yard, or garden.

Old Upſala, which is a place of high antiquity, and occurs in the earlieſt accounts of theſe Northern countries, is ſuppoſed to have ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from that which now bears the ſame name; and was much celebrated

brated as the principal place of ſacrifice in times of Pagan ſuperſtition, and the reſidence of the high-prieſt of Oden *. The preſent town, or New Upſala, is far anterior to the foundation of Stockholm: no authentic records, indeed, aſcertain the exact time of its origin; but ſeveral Swediſh antiquaries have with much probability conjectured; that it was at firſt a ſuburb of Old Upſala, and roſe upon its ruins, when that town became deſerted, and fell into decay †.

Upſala was formerly the metropolis of Sweden, and the royal reſidence. The antient palace was begun in 1549 ‡ by Guſtavus Vaſa, and completed by Eric XIV. It was a ſpacious and magnificent building, until great part of it was, in 1702, conſumed by fire. The remains, which ſtand upon an elevated ſcite, and command a fine proſpect of the adjacent country, conſiſt of a wing, a ſmall part of another, and the principal front, which has been repaired, and is covered with a red ſtucco. An old entrance, vaſt maſſes of ruins,

* Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſt. Reg. Norweg. Vol. I. c. 76. Dahlin's Geſchichte von Sweden, Vol. I. paſſim.

† Perinſkioldi Upſala Nova.

‡ Ibid. p. 317.

arches,

arches, vaults, and large piles of brick and mortar, are evident traces of its antient ſplendour. The room in which the diet of Sweden uſed to aſſemble is now converted into a granary; and affords no other proofs of its former importance than its dimenſions, being 140 feet in length, and 90 in breadth. The few remaining apartments in the wing which is not entire, are uſed as the common jail for criminals. Underneath are three dungeons, which were formerly appropriated to the confinement of ſtate priſoners; the moſt remarkable of whom was count Svante Sture, deſcended from an ancient family, which had given ſeveral adminiſtrators to Sweden; and which, before the election of Guſtavus Vaſa, had the faireſt pretenſions to the throne. Upon a door of one of theſe dungeons my conductor pointed out ſeveral characters coarſely notched, which, according to tradition, were made by count Svante in the agony of his diſtreſs, and as a memorial of his grief for the death of his ſon. The ſight of theſe characters, and the name of Sture, brought to my recollection the ſudden extinction of that much injured family, to which theſe walls were a witneſs; and the gloomy

madneſs of Eric XIV. which occaſioned that dreadful cataſtrophe. The miſtruſt and ſuſpicion which that unfortunate monarch had conceived againſt the nobility of Sweden, increaſing with the diſtreſſes of his reign, hurried him at length into a ſtate of inſanity: he ſaw a plot in the moſt common occurtences; and gave implicit credit to all the idle rumours of intended revolts, artfully ſpread by his favourites to intimidate or exaſperate him.

The Stures, as the principal family in the kingdom, had long been the chief object of his jealouſy, and had already felt ſome unwarrantable acts of authority. Nicholas, the ſon of count Svante, had lately experienced the following inſtances of his tyranny and caprice. Being, in 1566, cited by Eric before the diet, on a charge of miſconduct at the ſiege of Bohus, he was found guilty, and condemned to death. The king, however, inſtead of ſuffering the ſentence to be inflicted, or of remitting it entirely, acted with his uſual inconſiſtency. He ordered him to be carried in mock proceſſion through the ſtreets of Stockholm with a crown of ſtraw upon his head; and yet, ſoon after this public affront,

affront, he again received him into favour, and appointed him an embaſſador to the court of Loraine. But I haſten to the event which gave riſe to this detail, the impriſonment and extinction of the Sture family. Upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions merely derived from rumour, and ſome ſuborned witneſſes, count Svante and his ſons Eric and Nicholas, and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were in 1567 accuſed of conſpiring againſt the life of the king, arreſted, and confined in the palace of Upſala. While their trial was yet pending, a report being ſpread that his brother John, whom he had impriſoned at Gripſholm, had eſcaped from confinement; he ſuddenly repaired to the apartment in which Nicholas Sture was confined, and ſaluted him with the appellation of traitor: the young count endeavouring to appeaſe his fury by throwing himſelf at his feet, the king ſtabbed him in the arm; the other, drawing the dagger from the wound, kiſſed it and preſented it to Eric, who, unmoved with ſuch an affecting inſtance of loyalty, repeated the blow, and ordered his ſervant to finiſh the murder. Seized with an inſtantaneous fit of remorſe, he flew to the dungeon of count

Svante, and falling at his feet, called him his friend, exclaiming in an agony of deſpair, "In God's name, I entreat you to forgive "what I have committed againſt you."— "Willingly," replied the old count, melting into tears of compaſſion, "but if my "ſon's life is in danger, you muſt anſwer "for it before God."—"Yes, yes," replied the king in a tranſport of rage, "I was ſure "that I ſhould never obtain your pardon;" then giving orders to the jailer to ſecure the count, he haſtily quitted the palace in a peaſant's dreſs; and, accompanied by a few guards, roved about the country in a frantic manner. Dennis Bury, his preceptor, overtaking him at a ſmall diſtance from the town, fell proſtrate at his feet, and conjured him to ſpare the lives of the noble priſoners; a petition which proved as fatal to himſelf as to the perſons for whom he interceded: for Eric gave ſigns to one of his guards, who killed Bury upon the ſpot; and diſpatched immediate orders to the jailer at Upſala for the execution of the priſoners: orders of a madman, which were but too readily obeyed, and which extirpated at once the ancient family of the Stures.

Mean

Mean while, Eric wandered about the woods in a ſtate of remorſe and diſtraction; and was diſcovered on the fourth day after his departure from Upſala by his wife Catharine: ſhe found him in the parſonage of Odenſala, wild with grief and deſpair *, and ſcattering money among the people who were aſſembled upon this melancholy occaſion. The preſence of his beloved Catharine operated like a charm: ſhe calmed his agonies; prevailed upon him to take nouriſhment and repoſe, and accompanied him to Stockholm, where he gradually recovered his ſenſes †. Soon, however, relapſing into his former ſtate of miſtruſt and ſuſpicions, his adminiſtration became ſo weak and odious, that, in the following year, he was depoſed by his two brothers, who united their forces againſt him. John aſcended the throne which Eric had ſo unworthily filled. In another place, I ſhall have occaſion to mention the circumſtances of his impriſonment and death ‡.

* Einem wildem Thier aehnlicher als einem Menſchen. Dahlin.

† See Dahlin's Geſ. Vol. III. p. 511, &c. Celſius Hiſt. d'Eric XIV. Liv. 9.

‡ See Chap. IX. of this book.

Upſala is an archiepiſcopal ſee, and one of the moſt antient Chriſtian eſtabliſhments in Sweden. Everinus was the firſt biſhop; by birth an Engliſhman, he came in 1026, into this country at the requeſt of king Olaus Scotkonung, in order to aſſiſt in converting the natives of Old Upſala to Chriſtianity *. The ſimilarity of the Engliſh and Swediſh languages is mentioned as the motive which firſt brought Everinus, and afterwards ſeveral of his countrymen, into theſe parts as preachers of the Goſpel. He was no leſs qualified for this taſk from the meekneſs of his diſpoſition, than from his knowledge of the Swediſh idiom; not forcing, as was but too uſual, the natives to embrace the Chriſtian doctrines by violence and perſecution; but introducing the Goſpel by perſuaſion and example. His ſucceſſors in the ſee reſided for the moſt part at Sigtuna, until 1120, when Nicholas Ulphſon fixed the reſidence at Old Upſala. Stephen, a native of Eaſt Gothland, the ſeventh biſhop, was the firſt archbiſhop: he was raiſed to that dignity in 1164, and died in 1185. Falko, who was conſecrated

* See Dahlin, Vol. II. 468, &c.

in

in 1267, and expired in 1276, firſt transferred the reſidence to New Upſala. The immediate occaſion of this change in the archiepiſcopal ſeat was the deſtruction of the cathedral at Old Upſala by a violent fire in 1246, which was ſoon afterwards begun to be rebuilt on the ſpot where it now ſtands *.

In the center of the town ſtands the cathedral, a large building of brick: the architecture is in the Gothic ſtyle, excepting two towers of later date, which are ornamented with ſmall marble pillars of the Doric order, and which disfigure the general ſymmetry of the other parts. This cathedral was begun in the middle of the 13th century, under the direction of Stephen Bonneville, a French architect †, who followed in its conſtruction the model of the church of Notre Dame at Paris. It has ſeveral times been greatly damaged by fire, but has been as frequently repaired.

Upon entering the cathedral I beheld with the greateſt reverence, and even a degree of

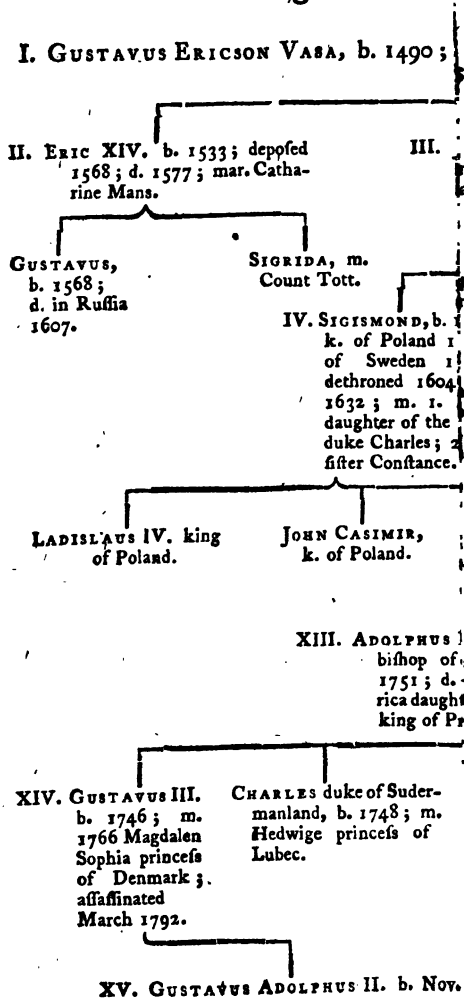
* Perinſk. Chap. II. and IX.

† Perinſk. Mon. Ullarakenſia, p. 18.

flect, rather than borrow, lúſtre upon the moſt conſpicuous anceſtry. Guſtavus is the father of a line of kings, called from him the Houſe of Vaſa, whoſe poſterity, as enumerated in the following table, ſtill ſways the Swediſh ſceptre.

Genealogical

Genealogical Table



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In an adjoining chapel repoſe the aſhes of his ſecond ſon John III. who aſcended the throne of Sweden in 1568. He did not owe his elevation to his own great or eminent qualities, but ſolely to the inſanity of his brother Eric XIV. whom he contrived to depoſe. This uxorious ſovereign, the degenerate ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, ſoon loſt the affection of his ſubjects by his weak and imprudent conduct, and by his attempts to recover Sweden to the Roman Catholic religion. His tender conſcience, though it did not prevent him from poiſoning his brother Eric, yet induced him to pay a moſt ſcrupulous obedience to the ridiculous penance * ordered by the pope for the commiſſion of that murder. Though a bigot in all ſects, he ſeems to have formed no ſettled principles of religion, but became by turns a Proteſtant and a Catholic, as he was governed by perſons of different perſuaſions. During his father's reign he was a zealous Lutheran; while his firſt wife Catharine lived, a ſincere Catholic; upon his ſecond marriage with a

* Namely, to faſt one day in the week; a penance, which, it is ſaid, he never omitted. Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 80.

Swediſh

Swediſh lady, who was a Lutheran, his zeal for the eſtabliſhment of the Roman doctrines ſubſided; and at his death he expreſſed an almoſt total indifference for the introduction of that new liturgy, which he had before been ſo active in enforcing, to the hazard of a civil war. A ſhort epitaph, after an exaggerated deſcription of his military reputation, aſcribes to John an accompliſhment which he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, the knowledge of languages. It might have added, an extenſive erudition in all branches of literature, more indeed *, according to the expreſſion of a Swediſh hiſtorian, than became a ſovereign, a graceful perſon, and the moſt winning affability of manners. He died in 1592, neither regretted nor eſteemed; conſigning to his ſon Sigiſmond king of Poland, together with his unpopularity and ſuperſtition, the ſceptre of Sweden without authority; a precarious poſſeſſion, ſoon to be ſeized by the father † of Guſtavus Adolphus.

* Dahlin.

† Charles IX. fourth ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, who is leſs known for his own merits, which were highly deſerving of a crown, than for being the father of an hero who gave law to Europe.

Under

Under a ſuperb monument, erected to her memory by her doating huſband, is depoſited the body of Catharine Jaghellon, princeſs of Poland, and conſort of John III. a woman of great beauty and elegant manners. By her unfortunate aſcendancy over her uxorious lord, ſhe occaſioned all the religious feuds which diſgraced his adminiſtration; and, by inſtilling the moſt intolerant principles into her ſon Sigiſmond, entailed upon this kingdom all the civil troubles which diſtracted his reign; and which ended in the loſs of his Swediſh crown. Her attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, in which ſhe had been educated, was as ſincere as it was firm; and would not have been mentioned to her diſcredit, if ſhe had not been inflamed with a blind rage for making proſelytes by compulſion, which characterizes the bigotted profeſſors of that perſuaſion. Her death, which happened in 1583, was friendly to the peace of Sweden; as her compliant huſband, when no longer inflamed by her preſence, cooled in his attempt to force Popery upon his ſubjects; and the heats of religious diſpute, which ſhe had kindled into a flame, ſubſided for a time.

In

In a ſmall chapel is the ſepulchre of the Stures, that illuſtrious family whoſe extinction has been already related. The aſhes of the three Stures, who fell a ſacrifice to the tyranny of Eric, are diſtinguiſhed by a monument, which was erected by the widow of count Svante; it contains, beſide ſeveral epitaphs in hexameter verſe, a pathetic inſcription in Latin proſe. The ſubſtance whereof is as follows.

"This is the burial-place of the laſt remaining branch of the Stures, whoſe antient and royal lineage was illuſtrated by Steno, Svante, and Steno, three ſucceſſive adminiſtrators of Sweden; deſervedly, for their merits and virtues, ſtyled Fathers of their country. But Svante, ſon of the latter Steno, raiſed to the dignity of count at the coronation of Eric XIV. and his ſons Nicholas and Eric, both eminent in war and peace, fell victims to a violent death on the 4th of May, 1566. All that was great and noble could not ſoothe the iron heart of their ſovereign. Reader! if thou art not equally unfeeling, deplore the unmerited cataſtrophe of ſuch exalted virtue."

A tomb, erected in honour of count Oxenſtiern, has been miſtaken by ſome travellers for that which covers the aſhes of Axel, the celebrated chancellor of Sweden; who directed the adminiſtration of affairs under Guſtavus Adolphus, Chriſtina, and Charles X. one of the greateſt men that Sweden, fertile in great men, ever produced. But his remains were depoſited in another place *. The perſon who lies interred in this cathedral is his nephew Benedict Oxenſtiern, who ſeems to have inherited the political abilities and great integrity of his uncle. Benedict was born in 1623, and enjoyed the favour of four ſucceſſive ſovereigns; all of whom had the higheſt conſideration for his talents and abilities. After filling ſeveral great offices, he was raiſed, in 1688, to the higheſt civil employment, the chancellorſhip, and died in 1702, in full poſſeſſion of his maſter's confidence and the people's eſteem.

Falko, the firſt archbiſhop who was interred in this church, was a great benefactor to the ſee; and is the ſame perſon mentioned

* Axel Oxenſtiern died at Stockholm in Auguſt 1654; and his remains were carried to Tyholm, and there interred in the family vault. Mem. de Chriſtine, Vol. I. p. 483.

in

in the former part of this chapter, who, in 1273, transferred the epiſcopal ſeat from Old to New Upſala. He alſo cauſed the bones of his predeceſſors to be tranſported from their burial-place in Old Upſala, to the cathedral; where they were depoſited with great ſolemnity and many ceremonies *.

The firſt Proteſtant archbiſhop was Laurentius Petri, of the province of Nerike, who, in conjunction with his brother Olaus Petri, firſt preached the reformed doctrines to the Swedes; and tranſlated the Bible into his native tongue. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation, the introduction of which was greatly owing to his labours, he was, in 1531, conſecrated archbiſhop; and continued to fill the ſee with credit until his death, which happened in 1570, in the 73d year of his age.

In the ſacriſtary of the cathedral are contained ſeveral relics, both ſacred and hiſtorical. The latter conſiſt of a few curioſities, which I ſhall particularize, from their alluſion to the hiſtory of Sweden. The firſt is an old log of wood rudely carved into the re-

* Perinſkiold, p. 135.

ſemblance

ſemblance of a head ſcarcely human, and called the image of the god Thor, formerly worſhipped in theſe parts, and to whom human ſacrifices uſed to be offered at Old Upſala. That this image is of very high antiquity ſhould ſeem evident from its rude workmanſhip; and it may probably have been one of the deities to whom the ſuperſtitious inhabitants paid their public homage; as, in early ages, and amid a barbarous people, the idols are in general of the coarſeſt form. With reſpect to the figure, I ſhall obſerve, that Dahlberg, in his *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, has given an engraving of it by far too elegant to bear much reſemblance to the original; but the reader will find a more accurate delineation in Perinſkiold's *Monumenta Ullarekarenſia*, in which no foreign embelliſhments are added.

A whetſtone, ſeveral feet in length, next attracted my attention; which, as tradition relates, Albert, who in 1434 aſcended the throne of Sweden, ſent in mockery to Margaret of Waldemar, recommending her to ſharpen upon it her own ſword, and the weapons of all her army: a taunt which he would willingly have retracted, when routed and

taken priſoner by the very woman whom he affected to deſpiſe.

The third curioſity was a ragged ſtripe of linen, faſtened to a ſtaff like a pair of colours, called the ſhift of Margaret; which was carried in battle as the main ſtandard, in order to animate the troops by the recollection of her martial ſpirit. Theſe remains were preſerved at Nuremberg, brought from thence when that town was taken by the Swedes, and depoſited in the cathedral of Upſala, in honour of the Semiramis of the North. How this ſhift was firſt procured by the inhabitants of Nuremberg, why it was there conſidered as a relic, and the exact period when it was imported into Sweden, I muſt leave to be aſcertained by thoſe who are diſpoſed to trace its hiſtory and adventures. I did not learn, however, that it has ever had the honour of giving a name to any particular colour, like the ſhift of Iſabella queen of Caſtile.

The kings of Sweden were formerly crowned in this cathedral; but that ceremony is now performed at Stockholm, Ulrica Eleonora being the laſt monarch who was inaugurated at Upſala.

This

This town is particularly celebrated for its univerſity, the moſt antient in Sweden. In 1246 Birger Jarl eſtabliſhed a ſchool at Upſala; and in 1478 Steen Sture, adminiſtrator of Sweden, laid the firſt foundation of the univerſity; the plan whereof had been formed, but not carried into execution, by Eric of Pomerania: the regulations were modelled after thoſe of Paris. The inſtitution was confirmed in a diet which met at Strængnæs on the 2d of July; and the univerſity was opened with due ceremony on the 7th of October in the ſame year *. Guſtavus Vaſa warmly patronized it, as being the place in which he had completed his education; and as it was greatly fallen into decay, he conferred upon it ſo many additional privileges, and endowed it in ſo ample a manner, that he is juſtly called its ſecond founder. Under John III. it was transferred to Stockholm; but again reſtored to Upſala by Charles IX. † During the conſtant wars in which that prince was engaged with his rival Sigiſmond king of Poland, it conſiderably declined; but was

* Dahlin, Vol. II. p. 610.

† Meſſ. Scon. Illuſ. Tom. IV. p. 37. Dahlin.

again revived by Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe extenſive knowledge and protection of letters are loſt in the ſplendour of his military atchievements. That great monarch, beſide conſtructing a large building at his own expence, endowed the univerſity with his patrimonial eſtate of Vaſa; by which donation the ſalaries of the profeſſors were augmented, and 150 ſtudents maintained. His example was followed by his ſucceſſors, as well as by ſeveral individuals; and as the funds have increaſed, the number of ſcholars ſupported by them have been conſiderably enlarged.

At the head of the univerſity is a chancellor (who is always a perſon of high rank and conſequence), choſen by the profeſſors, and confirmed by his Majeſty: he regulates and explains the ſtatutes; compoſes all material differences; and delivers all petitions and meſſages from the body to the king. When he is abſent, his office is ſupplied by the archbiſhop of Upſala. The preſidency devolves by rotation upon one of the profeſſors, who is ſtyled *Rector Magnificus:* he is a kind of juſtice of peace; can puniſh the ſtudents for ſmall delinquencies, by ſending them to priſon; and ſettles ſuch differences as are too trifling to be laid before the conſiſtory.

The

The univerſity has its own court of juſtice, called *Conſiſtorium Minus*, for the trial of the ſtudents and dependents: it is compoſed of a certain number of profeſſors; and judges miſdemeanors according to common law. An appeal lies from its deciſion to a *Conſiſtorium Majus*, which is formed by all the profeſſors; and from that in the laſt reſort to the provincial court of juſtice. The profeſſors are about twenty-four in number, of whom the principal are thoſe of divinity, eloquence, botany, anatomy, chymiſtry, natural philoſophy, aſtronomy, and agriculture. Their ſalaries are from £.70 to £.100 per annum. Upon a vacancy in any of the chairs, one of three candidates, choſen by their body, is nominated by the king. During each term the profeſſors give four public lectures in the week *gratis*; and the ſame number of private lectures, for which they receive from each of thoſe, who attend, the ſtipulated ſum of five ſhillings. A profeſſor, who has continued in office for the ſpace of thirty years, is allowed to retire with the title of *Emeritus*; and enjoys his ſalary during life.

Youth are admitted into the univerſity of Upſala at about the age of ſixteen, for the

completion of their academical ſtudies. They do not inhabit, as in our univerſities, any diſtinct college or colleges, there being no buildings for their accommodation, but lodge in the town; and repair to the general or private lectures, given by the ſeveral profeſſors, either at their own houſes, or at the public halls appropriated to ſuch purpoſes. The poorer ſtudents are aſſiſted in their expences by being appointed to ſcholarſhips, called *ſtipendia*; ſome founded by the crown, others by private perſons, but generally allotted for the natives of particular provinces. The higheſt in value of theſe ſcholarſhips amount to about £.13 per annum. The common degrees, granted by this univerſity, are *Philoſophiæ Candidatus*, which anſwers to a Bachelor of Arts; and *Philoſophiæ Magiſter*, to a Maſter of Arts. A ſtudent ought to be 24 years of age, in order to be admitted to his firſt degree; but this rule is not ſtrictly obſerved. Before he receives it, he muſt undergo ſeveral examinations from various profeſſors; and compoſe a Latin theſis, which he is bound to defend in the ſchools. Having taken his firſt degree, he may immediately enter upon his exerciſes for the ſecond; which

conſiſt

conſiſt in another Latin theſis, in holding a public diſputation, and reading a lecture in the ſame language. The graduates in divinity, law, and phyſic, are ſtyled *Theologiæ*, &c. *Candidatus*, *Licentiatus*, and *Doctor*. The doctors of law and phyſic, in order to obtain their degrees, paſs certain examinations, and hold public acts in their reſpective profeſſions, ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe paſſed by the maſters of arts; and the ſame forms are required from the doctors of divinity; unleſs, as is the uſual practice, they are created by the univerſity upon the king's mandate.

There is no academical diſcipline; the ſtudents being only liable to be puniſhed by the preſident and conſiſtory, according to the common law, for miſdemeanors and delinquencies. One inſtitution, however, preſerves ſome degree of order and ſubordination, the diviſion of the ſtudents into provincial claſſes according to their reſpective counties. Each claſs has a profeſſor at its head, called *Inſpector*, and two ſubdirectors, ſtyled *Curatores*; the other members are divided into *Seniores* and *Juniores*; the former of whom attend to, and in ſome meaſure regulate, the conduct of the latter. Each claſs aſſembles ſeparately, in

the houſe of its particular profeſſor, at leaſt ſix times in the year, and oftener if occaſion requires. On theſe meetings the ſtudents paſs certain exerciſes, which they who do not perform cannot be raiſed to the rank of ſeniors.

Though the ſtudents have ordinarily no regular dreſs; yet, on certain occaſions, and particularly when they take their maſter's degree, they appear in a black ſilk cloak; they ought alſo, according to the ſtatutes of the univerſity, to put on the ſame dreſs when they keep their acts; but for this omiſſion they uſually pay a ſmall fine. The profeſſors are, in days of ceremony, clad in black cloaks; the doctors of divinity are diſtinguiſhed by a hat of black ſilk; the doctors of law by one of white ſilk; and thoſe of phyſic by one of green or ſky-blue ſilk. The number of ſtudents vary every year, as in all fluctuating bodies; but upon an average may be ſtated at about five hundred *, as may be collected from the following table:

* Chronick der Univerſitat Upſala in Schloetzer's Briefwechſel, III. p. 166.

Spring

	Spring Term.			Auguſt Term.		
	Admiſſions.	N° of Students.		Admiſſions.	N° of Students.	Acts.
In 1768	79	557	—	99	493	31
1769	94	552	—	116	568	54
1770	127	649	—	87	461	68
1771	106	492	—	88	488	45
1772	99	538	—	97	470	44
1773	130	569	—	83	563	62
1774	137	604	—	102	594	36
1775	133	628	—	115	657	64
1776	103	575	—	110	514	91
1777	115	531	—	113	541	51

During this period of ten years, were created 40 doctors in divinity, 23 in phyſic, and 151 in arts.

This univerſity, juſtly called by Stillingfleet, "that great, and hitherto unrivalled, ſchool of natural hiſtory," is certainly the firſt ſeminary of the North for academical education; and has produced, from the time of its inſtitution, perſons eminent in every branch of ſcience. The learned publications which have lately been given to the world by its members, ſufficiently prove the flouriſhing ſtate of literature in theſe parts; and the theſes compoſed by the ſtudents upon their admiſſion to their degrees, would form a very intereſting collection. Many of theſe tracts, upon

upon various ſubjects of polite literature, antiquities, languages, &c. which have fallen under my obſervation, evidence the erudition and taſte of the reſpective authors: among the works of this ſort, which have widely diffuſed the fame of this learned ſociety throughout Europe, are the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, or a collection of theſes upon Natural Hiſtory, held under the celebrated Linnæus, and chiefly ſelected by that able maſter. Dr. Pulteney, in the View of his Writings, gives the following account of this work: "In the year "1749 was publiſhed the firſt volume of a "collection of Theſes in octavo, under the "title of *Amœnitates Academicæ*, ſeu *Diſſer-* "*tationes variæ, Phyſicæ, Medicæ, et Botanicæ.* "This publication has been continued, from "time to time, to the completion of the ſe- "venth volume in the year 1769. Theſe "volumes, as ſoon as publiſhed, were regu- "larly reprinted in Germany and Holland. "It is ſuppoſed the firſt volume was not ori- "ginally collected by Linnæus himſelf; but "he at leaſt reprinted it very early, and, that "he might not be defrauded of the advan- "tage of theſe publications, he became the "editor of all the ſucceeding volumes. As

"theſe

"these academical dissertations had been re-
"cited before Linnæus in his professorial cha-
"racter, and were selected by himself, they
"have been regarded as of equal authority
"nearly with his own writings; and many
"of them do in a particular manner illustrate
"and exemplify divers parts of his works, the
"subjects having been pointed out by him-
"self in many instances for that purpose. For
"these reasons we shall, in the course of this
"volume, give a very brief account of the
"purport of each dissertation, since they con-
"tain a great variety of curious intelligence
"on the subjects of physic and natural his-
"tory, every where digested in the most sci-
"entific taste *."

The library contains many valuable books and manuscripts. Olaus Celsius, in a publication upon this subject †, informs us, that it owes its origin to Gustavus Adolphus, who presented the university as well with his own private collection, which was very considerable, as with several libraries obtained in the different countries which he had over-run

* General View of the Writings of Linnæus, p. 45. p. 221—373.

† Bib. Upsal. Historia.

with

with his arms; it being his cuſtom to reſerve for himſelf, in all towns taken by ſtorm, the books eſpecially, as his ſhare of the plunder *. Thus the Jeſuits' library at Riga, that at Wurſtenburgh, and thoſe of many other conquered towns in Poland, Germany, and Pruſſia, were tranſmitted to Upſala. His example was followed by his ſucceſſors; and thus the victorious arms of Sweden enriched the kingdom with theſe literary acquiſitions. Olaus mentions Chriſtina as a conſiderable benefactreſs to this library, and enumerates many private donors; among whom the moſt conſpicuous are count Magnus de la Gardie, and Sparwenfieldt, the learned traveller †, whoſe curious collection, conſiſting, among others, of many rare Arabian, Syriac, and Coptic manuſcripts, has been thought worthy of a ſeparate publication.

Among the moſt valuable pieces of literary curioſity is a manuſcript of the Four Goſpels, called, from its ſilver letters, *Codex Argenteus*;

* Ingentem auri argentique prædam militibus reliquiſſet rex; ſibi ſolos reſervavit libros, quos ſine morâ in patriam miſit, Upſalienſi Bibliothecæ inſerendos. Bib. Upſal. Hiſtoria, p. 21.

† Catalogus Centuriæ Lib. rariſſ. &c.

and

and ſuppoſed to be a copy of the Gothic tranſlation made by Ulphilas, the apoſtle of the Goths, in the fourth century. I examined this curious volume with great attention. It is of a quarto ſize; the leaves, which I ſcarcely know whether to call vellum, parchment, or papyrus *, are ſtained with a violet colour; and upon this ground the letters, which are all capitals, were afterwards painted in ſilver, excepting the initial characters, and a few paſſages in gold. I was convinced, from a cloſe inſpection, that each letter was painted, and not formed †, as ſome authors have aſſerted, by a hot iron upon leaves of gold and ſilver. Moſt of the ſilver characters were become green by time; but the golden letters are ſtill in good preſervation. The Codex is muti-

* Le Long Bib. Sac. where it is called by different perſons, Codex Membranaceus, Codicem in pergameno, Codex in papyro exaratus. In the Bib. Up. Codex membrana rubra, p. 116. By Michaelis, a manuſcript on vellum, p. 160.

† They appeared to me to be drawn, or painted, in the ſame manner as the initial letters in ſeveral of the fineſt Miſſals, and not ſtamped, as the learned Mr. Ihre conjectures, or imprinted on the vellum with hot metal types, in the like manner as the bookbinders at preſent letter the backs of books. See North. Ant. Vol. I. p. 367.

lated

lated in ſeveral places; but what remains is, for the moſt part, perfectly legible.

This manuſcript was, in 1597, firſt diſcovered in the library of the Benedictine Abbey of Werden in Weſtphalia, by Anthony Marillon, who extracted from it a few paſſages, which were inſerted in a Commentary on the Gothic alphabet, publiſhed by Bonaventura Vulcanius. Soon afterwards Arnold Mercator obſerved it in the ſame library; and tranſcribed alſo a few verſes, which Gruter * gave to the world in his *Inſcriptiones Antiquæ*. From the Abbey of Werden it was transferred to Prague, during the ſhort period in which that town was occupied by Frederic Elector Palatine. In 1648, Prague being ſtormed by the Swedes, it was found among the literary ſpoils by count Konigſmark, and ſent as a moſt valuable preſent to Chriſtina. The queen is ſaid to have given it to Iſaac Voſſius; but it is moſt probable that the crafty Dutchman took it without permiſſion, among many other rare books and manuſcripts, when he

* Gruter, Inſ. Ant. p. 146. He calls it Gothica vel Germanica. The curious reader, who compares the text in Gruter with that of the ſimilar paſſages in Lye, will obſerve conſiderable inaccuracies in the former.

pillaged

pillaged * her majeſty's library during the confuſion which preceded her abdication. Upon the death of Voſſius it was purchaſed from his executor by count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, for about £. 250, and preſented by him to the univerſity of Upſala, where it now remains.

Three editions of the *Codex Argenteus* have been given to the public, the firſt printed at Dort, the ſecond at Stockholm, and the third at Oxford. The firſt was iſſued at Dort in 1665, by Francis Junius, who borrowed the manuſcript from Voſſius; and was accompanied with obſervations and a Gloſſary, by Thomas Marſhall. In this edition the text was a *fac ſimile* of the original †. The ſecond edition, publiſhed at Stockholm, 1672, by the learned Stiernhelm, differs from that of Junius, in giving the text in Latin, and not in

* Memoires de Chriſtine, Vol. I. p. 308. In the library at Leyden is ſtill preſerved a curious collection, called *Furta Voſſiana*, which he is ſuppoſed to have pillaged from Chriſtina's library.

† Another impreſſion of this work is ſuppoſed to have been printed at Amſterdam in 1672; but this is in reality the ſame as the former, with nothing more than another title-page, affixing a new date and place of impreſſion, according to a fraud not unfrequent among bookſellers.

Gothic characters. Notwithſtanding the reputation of thoſe two learned editors for their critical ſkill and exactneſs; yet Benzelius, firſt librarian of the univerſity, and afterwards archbiſhop of Upſala, upon comparing their texts with that of the original, diſcovered ſo many falſe readings and omiſſions, that he again collated the manuſcript, rectified the miſtakes, and made a literal tranſlation in the Latin tongue. And as the Gothic types of the firſt edition publiſhed by Junius were preſerved at Oxford; he tranſmitted theſe collations and tranſlation, together with various obſervations, to Mr. Edward Lye of Oxford, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge of the antient Northern languages*. The work was cheerfully undertaken, and faithfully executed, by that judicious ſcholar; and the third edition made its appearance in the year 1750, printed at the Clarendon preſs. To the obſervations of Benzelius, Mr. Lye added many learned remarks upon the text and verſion, and a Gothic Grammar. This impreſſion is eſteemed, by thoſe who have had it in their power to compare it with the original Codex, a moſt complete work, and re-

* Hiſt. Bib. Up.

dounding

dounding greatly to the honour of the editor's accuracy.

The *Codex Argenteus* has given riſe to a curious controverſy among the learned. In the examination of this manuſcript, different perſons have thought that they diſcovered a ſimilitude in the characters to thoſe of the Greek, Latin, Finniſh, Runic, Daniſh, German, or Gothic; each adopting an opinion according to his favourite hypotheſis, and referring its original to the anceſtors of his own country. Nor is this a matter of any ſurpriſe: for as the barbarous nations, who were converted to Chriſtianity by the Greeks and Romans, received from them either a new alphabet, or, at leaſt, ſeveral new characters; it neceſſarily follows, that moſt of the antient letters uſed by the Goths, Franks, Huns, Sclavonians, and other bordering nations, muſt bear in many points a great affinity to each other; ſo that a framer of a fanciful ſyſtem may readily conceive a reſemblance in the whole, which exiſts only in a few parts. But without entering into an inquiry which may lead us too far, the queſtion concerning the original tongue of the *Codex Argenteus* is reduced to two opinions; the firſt, that it is

written in the ſame language and character as were uſed in the fourth century by the Goths of Mæſia, the anceſtors of the preſent Swedes, and is a true copy of the verſion made by Ulphilas; the ſecond, that it is a tranſlation in the Frankiſh idiom.

The firſt opinion is ſtrongly ſupported by Junius, Stiernhelm, David Wilkins, Benzelius, and Lye; the ſecond, as warmly defended by Hickes, La Croze, Wetſtein, and Michaelis. To enter into a diſcuſſion of all the arguments advanced on both ſides with equal erudition, would require a larger compaſs than the nature of this work will admit: and to give a partial abſtract of them would only invalidate their reſpective ſtrength. Thus much is certain, that as the reaſonings admit not of any poſitive evidence on either ſide, but are chiefly drawn from vague conjectures; an unprejudiced inquirer will find it no eaſy matter to form a deciſive and ſatisfactory judgment. I ſhall refer, therefore, the inquiſitive reader, for further information, to the ſeveral writers upon this ſubject; and ſhall add only, that with reſpect to my own opinion, after having minutely weighed the arguments on each ſide, I am inclined to

aſſent

aſſent to the notion, that the Codex Argenteus * is a copy of the very original verſion made by Ulphilas in the Gothic idiom. I was once indeed leaning to the opinion of its being a Frankiſh verſion, but was induced to alter my judgment from the arguments of Benzelius and Lye, in the Preface to the Oxford edition †; and eſpecially from a very ingenious treatiſe, publiſhed by Ihre ‡, by which it appears that ſeveral ſpecimens of the Oſtrogothic tongue have been lately diſcovered in Italy, which perfectly reſemble both the characters and language of the verſion in the *Codex Argenteus*.

But to whichſoever ſide we may incline, as both the Gothic and Frankiſh idioms were dialects of the Teutonic or German; this

* See the ſeveral editions of the Codex Argenteus by Junius, Stiernhelm, and Lye. Hickes Gramm. Mæſo Gothica in his Theſaurus Ling. Sept. La Croze Diſſ. Philol. at the end of Chamberlayne's Orat. Dom. p. 136. Wetſtein's Proleg. in Nov. Teſt. ſect. 68 to 71. Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 116 to 123. Le Long, Bib. Sac. Vol. II. p. 140 and 538.

† Preface to Lye's Sac. Evan. Vers. Goth.

‡ Monumentum veteris linguæ Oſtrogothicæ, Neapoli haud pridem repertum, &c. In Act. Nov. Reg. Soc. Scien. Upſal. Vol. III. See alſo Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 204.

manuſcript muſt be conſidered as the moſt ancient ſpecimen extant of that language. Its antiquity has been unqueſtionably proved without a diſſenting voice. They who conclude it to be the verſion of Ulphilas, muſt of courſe hold it to have been made in the middle of the fourth century; and even thoſe authors * who contend for its being a Frankiſh tranſlation, allow it to have been copied in the reign of Chilperic, between 564 and 587. Its high antiquity is proved, as well from its containing the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer, in the thirteenth verſe of the ſixth chapter of St. Matthew, which is not to be found in any of the moſt antient verſions; as from its interpreting many paſſages in a ſimilar manner with ſeveral of the Latin tranſlations which are known to have been antecedent to the vulgate of St. Jerom †. Another circumſtance worthy of notice, and which enhances its value, is, that it was undoubtedly tranſlated from the original Greek,

* La Croze and Michaelis. The latter has, I am informed, changed his opinion; and in the ſecond edition of his Lectures on the New Teſtament, which I have not yet met with, agrees with Mr. Ihre.

† Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. II. p. 142.

and

and not from any of the Latin verſions *. We will not detain the reader with idle conjectures from Watchterus †, that this ſplendid Codex belonged to Alaric, the Gothic king of Toulouſe; or of Papebroch ‡, that it was the identical exemplar which the emperor Valens preſented to Fritigern, general of the Viſigoths eſtabliſhed in Mæſia; but ſhall conclude by obſerving, that to whomſoever it belonged, or by whomſoever tranſlated, it muſt be conſidered as a work of great authority, and a literary treaſure of high antiquity §.

In this library two original manuſcripts of the unfortunate Eric XIV. caught my attention. They are in Latin, and were compoſed in 1566 and 1567, the two years which immediately preceded his depoſition. They

* Prefatio in Lye, cap. ii.; and Michaelis' Lectures, p. 165.

† Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 118.

‡ Le Long, Vol. II. p. 531.

§ Another fragment of this curious manuſcript, containing a few chapters of St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans, was found at Wolfenbuttle, and is now preſerved in the library of that town, where I ſaw it in 1777. The original letters were partly eraſed and written upon. See Nonnulla Cap. Epiſ. Pauli ad Rom. publiſhed at Brunſwick by Fran. Anton. Knitell.

contain his aſtronomical, or rather aſtrological, obſervations and predictions, written with his own hand, after his daily examination of the ſtate of the heavenly bodies. The names of his brothers occur frequently, accompanied with great marks of ſuſpicion and diſtruſt, and the deaths of ſeveral perſons are predicted. Some hiſtorical facts are blended occaſionally with the obſervations; and theſe notes afford a moſt convincing proof of the diſtracted ſtate of Eric's mind; at the ſame time that they diſcover evident traces of his great learning and extenſive erudition. Upon examining a few of his notes, I was ſtruck with the reſemblance between him and the emperor Rhodolph II. Both theſe ſovereigns began their reigns with the faireſt hopes; both were not only the zealous protectors of learning, but even men of letters themſelves; as well verſed in polite literature, as ſkilled in the abſtruſer ſciences *; both were ſtrongly addicted to judicial

* Celſius ſays of Eric XIV. "Erat ille plurimis ſcientiis "ita inſtructus, ut majorem certe a literis quam a ſceptro "gloriam reportaverit." Bib. Upſ. Hiſt. p. 4. And Voltaire ſays as juſtly of Rhodolph II. "La philoſophie "qu'il cultivait, lui avait appris tout ce qu'on pouvait "ſavoir alors, excepté à remplir ſes devoirs de Souverain.

"Il

dicial aſtrology, and drawing from the various combinations of the heavenly bodies a preſage of their own good or ill fortune, in the moſt common as well as the moſt important occurrences of life. Both were jealous, even to miſery, of their relations and ſubjects; and both were at length depoſed by their brothers, whom they had driven by their ſuſpicions to conſpire againſt them; with this difference only, that Rhodolph, though compelled to renounce the imperial throne in favour of Matthias; yet remained king of Bohemia until his death, and was not, like Eric, impriſoned and murdered. Rhodolph, indeed, though equally jealous and ſuſpicious, was not guilty of ſuch exceſſes and cruelties as diſgrace the reign of Eric; but both were equally incapable of governing, though endowed with excellent underſtandings, and acquainted with every branch of ſcience.

There are in this library of Upſala few manuſcripts of the claſſics of much importance; but the printed editions are numerous and good.

« Il aimait beaucoup mieux s'inſtruire avec le fameux « Ticho Brahe, que tenir les etats de Hongrie et de Bo- « heme." Hiſt. Univ. c. 147.

Having desired the librarian to shew me the first book printed in Sweden; he pointed out to me *Dialogus Creaturarum moralizatus*, published at Stockholm in 1483, by John Snell, a German printer, invited into Sweden by the administrator Steen Sture.

Before I close my account of the university library, I must take notice of a beautiful cabinet of ebony and cypress, ornamented with precious stones; which was presented, in 1632, by the city of Augsburgh to Gustavus Adolphus. It contains, among other pieces of curiosity, a large agate, two spans long, and one and an half broad. On one part of the stone is painted the Day of Judgment; and on another the Passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. The figures are in a very good style of colouring, similar to that used by the German painters immediate successors of Albert Durer. The artist has very ingeniously expressed the clouds and the water by the natural tints and shades of the stone; and indeed they represent, with as much boldness and nature as the finest painting could effect, the wall of water suspended for a passage to the Israelites, and the waves rolling back with fury upon Pharaoh and his host. The artist, whose name was John King, has drawn his own

own portrait lying at the feet of the pope among the bleſt in heaven.

I hold myſelf greatly indebted to the polite attention of Mr. Eric Michael Fant, ſub-librarian, who kindly accompanied me to the library, and favoured me in the readieſt manner with every poſſible information. He was ſo obliging as to preſent me with ſeveral tracts upon the Icelandic, Lapland, and other Northern languages, Celſius's account of the library of Upſala, and other rare diſſertations; from which I have drawn conſiderable intelligence.

I waited, with a letter of recommendation, upon Mr. Bergman, profeſſor of chemiſtry in the univerſity; whoſe fame ſtands high among the learned of all nations; and whoſe reputation is deſervedly eſtabliſhed for his uſeful and accurate reſearches, as well in his own laboratory, as in every branch of natural hiſtory. The learned profeſſor received me with great politeneſs and cordiality, and ſhewed me his cabinet, which is particularly rich in Swediſh minerals. He obligingly communicated to me much intelligence, in a very long and intereſting converſation which I had the pleaſure of holding with him; and which made

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me regret, that, my ſtay in Upſala being ſo ſhort, I could not derive any further information from a perſon of ſuch general and accurate knowledge. Upon my return to the inn, I immediately noted down the principal heads of the diſcourſe; the ſubſtance whereof I ſhall here tranſcribe from my journal.

In anſwer to my inquiries concerning the ſtate of the Swediſh mines; he informed me, that there were as well gold and ſilver, as copper and iron mines: the produce of the firſt, though very inconſiderable, is remarkable for yielding the native gold in a calcareous matrix. Thoſe of ſilver are ſomewhat more profitable; but the quantity of ore is greatly diminiſhed within theſe late years. The copper mines of Fahlun are extremely rich; but I could not remember the general ſtate of their produce, and the average proportion of metal drawn from a hundred weight of ore. With reſpect to the iron mines, the moſt important of all the native productions of Sweden, thoſe of Danemora are the fineſt for the quality of the metal, although they are not ſo rich as ſeveral in Lapland; the latter ſometimes producing even 90 pounds of pure iron in an hundred weight of ore. The pooreſt of

Danemora

Danemora yield 30 pounds, and the richeſt from 60 to 70, in an hundred. The iron of this celebrated mine is in the higheſt eſtimation, and is chiefly exported to England for the ſteel manufactures. The matrix of this ore is a calcareous earth, a very remarkable circumſtance; and which, in conjunction with other cauſes not yet diſcovered, is perhaps one occaſion of the ſuperior quality of its metal. He added, that in general the iron mines of Sweden are found to run in veins; a few in Lapland excepted, which do not branch out in longitudinal directions, but conſiſt of immenſe maſſes of ore *. I next inquired concerning the quantity of granite rock, which I had obſerved in different parts of Sweden, as well lying in detached maſſes, as forming ridges of mountains: to which the profeſſor

* To theſe may be added the noted mountain Taberg in Smaland, which is one maſs of rich iron ore. It is above 400 feet high, and three Engliſh miles in circumference. A deſcription of this mountain, and a view of it, ſent by Dr. Aſcanius to the late Mr. Peter Collinſon, was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. XLIX. There is alſo an account of this inſulated maſs of ore in the Acts of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, Vol. XXI. for the year 1760, communicated by M. Tilas. This mine has been worked for 200 years paſt.

made

made anſwer, that granite is the baſis of the country, particularly of the Northern parts; that hills of gravel and ſand, and calcareous ſtone, containing petrefactions of ſhells, are indeed not unfrequent, but generally repoſe upon granite; that the granite is both red and grey; that the former more readily crumbles and decompoſes by the lapſe of time; and that almoſt all the old Runic monuments exiſting in the country are of the grey ſpecies, which is by far the moſt durable *.

The Royal Society at Upſala is the oldeſt literary academy of that kind in the North. It took its riſe in the year 1720, upon the following occaſion. Benzelius †, librarian to the univerſity, and afterwards archbiſhop of Upſala, undertook, in conjunction with ſome other learned men, a review, as well of all

* For ſome account of profeſſor Bergman's works, ſee Chapter VIII. of this book.

† Eric Benzelius was born at Upſala in 1673, where he began and completed his ſtudies. Having travelled into Germany, England, and France, he returned to Upſala in 1702, and was appointed librarian to the univerſity, an office which he held for 22 years. In 1724 he was nominated profeſſor of divinity; afterwards ſucceſſively created biſhop of Gotheborg, Lindkioping, and archbiſhop of Upſala. He died in 1743, aged 70. Celſii Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 149.

books publiſhed in Sweden, or by Swedes abroad, as of thoſe works printed in foreign countries, which had any relation to this kingdom. As this publication contained alſo, beſide the mere reviews, a few original acts, it was called *Acta Literaria Sueciæ*; and was carried on upon this plan for ten years. At the end of that period, namely, in 1730, the tranſactions were no longer confined to a review of books, but conſiſted entirely of original acts and diſſertations; and the ſociety, now patronized by the king, ſtyled itſelf, in the dedication to his majeſty, *Societas Regia*; and its tranſactions, which came out annually, *Acta Literaria et Scientiarum Sueciæ*. In 1740, it aſſumed the title of *Societas Regia Literaria et Scientiarum Upſalienſis*, adopting the laſt expreſſion inſtead of *Sueciæ*, in order to diſtinguiſh it from the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, inſtituted in 1739, which was denominated *Academia Regia Sueciæ*. The ſociety continued its publications upon the ſame plan until 1750, when it ceaſed; but was again revived in 1773, at which period its tranſactions were iſſued under the title of *Nova Acta Regiæ Societatis Scientiarum Upſalienſis*. Theſe acts make their appearance in ſeparate

ſeparate parts, which are not put forth regularly every year, but only occaſionally, as there are a ſufficient number of diſſertations, and as the ſociety, which has no fund, can afford the expence of printing. They are all written in the Latin tongue, and printed in quarto. The original numbers, namely, thoſe iſſued from 1720 to 1750, are comprized in ſix volumes. The new acts already publiſhed are in four parts: the firſt appeared in 1773; and the laſt in 1783. Many of theſe diſſertations have conſiderable merit; they treat of a great variety of ſubjects, as well relative to the hiſtory, antiquities, and languages of the North, as to natural hiſtory. They contain ſeveral papers written by Linnæus and Bergman.

Before I quitted Upſala, I made an excurſion to the place where the kings of Sweden were antiently elected: it lies about ſeven miles from the town, in the middle of a plain called Mora; and is ſtill marked by the remains of ſeveral mutilated ſtones, one whereof is known in Swediſh hiſtory by the appellation of *Moraſteen*, or the Stone of Mora; upon which the ſovereigns were enthroned with all due ſolemnity, and received the homage of their ſubjects. Their name and the date of

the year when this ceremony was performed was at the ſame time inſcribed upon another ſtone, as a public memorial of their election. This appears from a very curious certificate * made

* " In nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a Nativitate ejuſ-
" dem MCDXXX, III Die Menſis Maii, hora veſpera-
" rum vel quaſi Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris
" ac Domini D. Eugenii Papæ IV. Anno IV. in nova domo
" Capitulari ante Valvas Eccleſiæ Upſalenſis ſita, in mei
" notarii publici teſtiumque ſubſcriptorum præſentia perſo-
" naliter conſtitutus venerabilis D. Petrus, archiepiſcopus
" eccleſiæ Upſalenſis, nomine & ex parte capituli dictæ
" eccleſiæ Upſal ibidem tunc congregati me notarium ſub-
" ſcriptum requiſivit, ut aſſumptis iiſdem teſtibus accederem
" ad lapidem vulgariter dictum Moreſteen, in quo & ſuper
" quem Reges Sueciæ de novo electi ſtatim poſt eorum
" electionem conſueverunt ab antiquiſſimis temporibus
" ſublimari & inthroniſari, inveſtigaturus ibidem annum
" electionis in Regem Sueciæ illuſtriſſimi principis domini
" Erici Regis moderni, ego memoratus notarius infra ſcrip-
" tus una cum teſtibus ſubſcriptis ſtatim ad dictum lapidem
" Morafteen extra civitatem Upſalenſem ad unum milliare
" in plano campo ſitum acceſſi et honorabilem virum D. Jo-
" hannem Matthiæ, curatum eccleſiæ Danmark, quæ dicto
" lapidi vicina eſt eccleſia in teſtem aſſumpſi, et ſculpturam
" cujuſdam lapidis dicto antiquo lapidi Morafteen ſuperim-
" poſiti diligenter inſpexi et per teſtes infra ſcriptos inſpici
" feci ſic præcisè, ut ſequitur, in eodem lapide inſculptum
" inveni. Anno Domini MCCCXCVI. electus eſt in
" Regem Sueciæ in hoc loco illuſtris Rex Dominus Erious
" calendarum Auguſti (locus autem pro numero calen-
" darum

made by a public notary; who, in 1430, at the requeſt of the archbiſhop of Upſala, examined the *Moraſteen*, to aſcertain the year in which Eric of Pomerania was raiſed to the throne. When I viſited the ſpot, I obſerved ten ſtones, the largeſt whereof was only ſix ſpans long, two broad, and two thick; and which tradition reports to be the *Moraſteen*. The others are exceedingly ſmall. I could trace upon ſeveral the figures of a croſs and globe coarſely carved; and upon one, in particular, which was very antient, the three crowns, the arms of Sweden. I diſcovered a few traces of inſcriptions, ſeemingly in Gothic characters; but ſo imperfect, that I did not attempt to * decypher them. A few years ago theſe remains of Swediſh antiquity were covered only with a wooden ſhed; but they

" darum vacuus erat) ſuper quibus omnibus et ſingulis præ-
" fatus Petrus archiepiſcopus nomine, quo ſupra, me nota-
" rium publicum requiſivit ut unum vel plura, publicum vel
" publica ſuper præmiſſis conficerem inſtrumentum vel in-
" ſtrumenta." Holberg, Vol. I. p. 500.

* Some perſons have given an explanation of theſe inſcriptions, ſuch as the before-mentioned one of Eric; alſo A. D. 1448. d. 28. Junii electus eſt nobilis Vir. D; us: Carolus Canuti, Miles natione Suecus in Regem Sueciæ. Dahlin, Vol. I. 167.

are

are now preſerved in a brick building, conſtructed at his preſent majeſty's expence in honour of his royal anceſtors. An inſcription in Swediſh upon the inſide walls enumerates the names of the ſeveral kings, who were enthroned upon this ſpot. They are king Euge, 1060, with whom this cuſtom is ſaid to have taken its riſe; king Magnus Ladulas, D. 1. 1276; Magnus Smek, D. 11, 1319; Eric XIII. 1396; Chriſtopher, 1441; Charles VIII. 1448; Chriſtian I. 1457; Steno Sture, adminiſtrator of Sweden, 1512.

Olaus Magnus relates, that the *Moraſteen* was placed in the midſt of twelve other ſtones in a circle. Camden thus deſcribes a ſimilar monument near the village of Saint Buriens, in Cornwall. "Not far from hence, in a place "called Biſcaw-woune, are nineteen ſtones ſet "in a circle, about twelve foot diſtant one "from another; and in the centre there ſtands "one much larger than any of the reſt. One "may probably conjecture this to have been "ſome trophy of the Romans under the later "emperors; or of Athelſtan, the Saxon, after "he had ſubdued Cornwall*." Olaus Worm-

* Britannia, edit. 1695, p. 6.

ius, however, more ingeniously conjectures, from the similarity of this monument to the *Morasteen*, and others in Sweden and Denmark, that it was the place where the antient Anglo-Saxon kings were elected and enthroned *.

* Monumenta Danica, p. 90.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Botanical garden of Upſala.—*Biographical memoirs of* Linnæus.

THE botanical garden of Upſala, to which place I had the pleaſure of being accompanied by the ſon of Linnæus, is ſmall, but laid out with judgment; and the collection of plants, particularly exotics, is numerous. I could not avoid regarding with enthuſiaſm this ſpot of ground, rendered celebrated by the reſidence of Linnæus; of whom it may be ſaid, without exaggeration, that, in the natural hiſtory of the globe, he left nothing unexplored.

I flatter myſelf, that many of the following authentic anecdotes of this great naturaliſt are entirely new to the Engliſh reader *.

Carl

* This account of Linnæus is chiefly extracted from a German tranſlation of his Commemoration-Speech, delivered on the 5th of December, 1778, by Dr. Bæck, in the king's preſence, before the Royal Academy of Sciences; and from anecdotes of his life by Fabricius. See Gedæchnitzrede Auf den Carl von Linnè, &c. von A. Bæck; and Einige naehere Umſtande aus dem Leben

Carl Von Linnè, or, as he is more known to foreigners, Linnæus, the eldeſt ſon of Nils Linnæus, a Swediſh divine, was born on the 24th of May 1707, at Raſhult, in the province of Smoland. His inclination for the ſtudies in which he afterwards made ſo wonderful a progreſs, commenced at a very early period of his life; and took its riſe from the following circumſtance: His father uſed to amuſe himſelf in the garden of his parſonage with the cultivation of plants and flowers. Linnæus, while an infant, was ſoon led to take a ſhare in this entertainment; and, before he was ſcarcely able to walk, expreſſed extreme ſatisfaction when he was permitted to accompany him into the garden. As his ſtrength increaſed, he delighted in digging and planting; and afterwards obtained for his own uſe a ſmall portion of ground, which was

des Ritters von Linnè; Von Johan Chriſtian Fabricius, in the Deutches Muſeum, for May and July 1780. Fabricius, the author of this account, was the diſciple of Linnæus: he is now profeſſor of œconomy and natural hiſtory in the univerſity of Kiel; and may be juſtly called the firſt entomologiſt in Europe. He has diſtinguiſhed himſelf, among other publications, by the following works: Reiſe nach Norwegen.—Syſtema Entomologiæ.—Genera Inſectorum.—Philoſophiæ Entomologica.—Species Inſectorum.

called

called Charles's garden. He ſoon learnt to diſtinguiſh the different flowers; and, before he had attained the tenth year of his age, made ſmall excurſions in the neighbourhood of Raſhult; and brought many indigenous plants into his little garden.

Being ſent, in 1717, to ſchool at Wexio, under the tuition of Lanarius, by whom he was indulged with the permiſſion of continuing his excurſions, he paſſed his whole time in collecting plants, talking of them, and making himſelf acquainted with their names and qualities. He was ſo abſorbed in this favourite purſuit as totally to diſregard his other ſtudies; and made ſuch an inconſiderable progreſs, that, upon his removal, in 1724, to the *gymnaſium* in the ſame town, his new maſter repeatedly complained of his idleneſs. Urged by theſe remonſtrances, his father conceived his ſon to have no taſte for literature; and propoſed to bind him apprentice to a ſhoemaker *: and this deſtination would have taken place; if a neighbouring phyſician, whoſe name was Rothman †, ſtruck with the boy's great genius, had not predicted, that he

* Fabricius. † Bæck.

would, in time, become deeply ſkilled in a ſcience, to which he ſeemed naturally inclined. This ſagacious obſerver, having prevailed upon the father of Linnæus to continue his ſon's education, took the boy into his houſe; ſupplied him with botanical books; and inſtructed him in the firſt rudiments of phyſic, in which he ſoon made a conſiderable progreſs. When his father had aſſented to this advice, he had deſigned him for the church *; and was not, without great difficulty, induced to agree that he ſhould apply himſelf to the ſtudy of botany and phyſic.

In 1727 he was ſent to the univerſity of Lund; where he acquired, under the celebrated Stobæus, the firſt ſyſtematic principles of natural hiſtory. Being lodged in that profeſſor's houſe, he enjoyed many opportunities of improvement; and particularly from a curious collection of foſſils, ſhells, birds, and plants. At this place he began to form an

* His mother was at firſt ſo chagrined that her eldeſt ſon declined entering into orders, that ſhe would not even permit her ſecond ſon to ſet his foot in the garden. This brother, whoſe name is Samuel, is ſtill living: he is a clergyman in the province of Smoland, and, on account of his ſkill in the management of bees, is known by the name of Bi-Kung, or the Bee-King.

herbarium,

herbarium, collecting plants from all quarters, making repeated obſervations upon them, and comparing them with the deſcriptions of Tournefort *, whoſe works he had received as a preſent from Dr. Rothman †. During his reſidence at Lund, he proſecuted his ſtudies with ſuch unremitted attention; that he frequently continued them during great part of the night, in order to enjoy the uſe of ſeveral books which he ſecretly obtained from the profeſſor's library. Once in particular, Stobæus ſuſpecting that he had company at a very late hour, ſtole unobſerved into his apartment; and was aſtoniſhed at finding him employed in conſulting the works of thoſe great botaniſts, Cæſalpinus, Bauhin, and Tournefort. Pleaſed with this inſtance of his indefatigable zeal for ſcience, the profeſſor permitted him to have acceſs to his library and collections; and readily aſſiſted him with advice and information.

Linnæus did not confine himſelf to botany; but turned alſo his attention to the inferior orders of the animal kingdom: a branch of knowledge in which he eminently excelled;

* Inſtitutiones rei herbariæ.

† Bæck.

and which he was led to profecute from a circumſtance, that would have damped the ardour of a leſs zealous inquirer. In endeavouring to form a collection of inſects, he was ſtung by the *Furia Infernalis* * in ſo terrible a manner,

* The effects of the *Furia Infernalis* are thus deſcribed by Dr. Pulteney, from a Diſſertation *De Miraculis Inſectorum*, in the third volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*. "In Finland, Bothnia, and the northern provinces of Sweden, it was not unfrequently that people were ſeized "with a pungent pain, confined to a point, in the hand, "or other expoſed part of the body, which preſently "encreaſed to a moſt excruciating degree, and hath "ſometimes been ſuddenly fatal. This diſorder was "more particularly obſerved in Finland, eſpecially about "boggy and marſhy places, and always in autumn. At "length it was diſcovered, that this pain inſtantly ſuc-"ceeded ſomewhat that dropped out of the air, and in a "moment penetrated and buried itſelf in the fleſh. The "Finlanders had tried variety of applications to no pur-"poſe, until at length a poultice of curds, or cheeſe, was "found the moſt effectual in eaſing the pain; and the "event confirmed, that the inſect was allured by this ap-"plication to leave the fleſh; as on its removal, this "worm, no longer than the ſixth of an inch, was found in "it, and thus the cauſe of this painful diſeaſe explained. "Linnæus himſelf once ſuffered from this animal the "effect here ſpoken of: but we owe the complete hiſtory "of it and its place in the Syſtem, to Dr. Solander, who "gave it in to the Royal Society of Sciences at Upſal. "(Nov. Ac. Vol. I.) This worm ſtands in the Syſtem "under

ner, that his life was endangered *. This event incited his reſearches to diſcover the nature and qualities of that venomous worm; which led him to develope and explain thoſe numerous tribes of inſects † and worms, that had been but imperfectly deſcribed by preceding naturaliſts; and afterwards to throw new light upon the whole animal kingdom.

In 1728 he was removed to the univerſity of Upſala; where his narrow circumſtances involved him at firſt in diſtreſſes unfriendly to the purſuits of ſcience, but which did not,

" under the name of *Furia Infernalis*, p. 1325; but by " what means this creature is raiſed into the air, is as yet " unknown." General View of the Writings of Linnæus, p. 259.

* Bæck.

† " No part of the ſyſtem of nature," writes Dr. Pulteney, " has undergone a greater change than this claſs; " neither does our author ſtand more unrivalled, than in " the excellent arrangement he has given to this branch " of natural hiſtory; which, before his time, was nearly " without method." p. 101.

And again, " The knowledge of inſects may be ſaid to " be the laſt branch of natural hiſtory that raiſed its head; " notwithſtanding which, it has of late attained a high de- " gree of perfection: nor can it be too much to attribute " this to the excellent arrangement of Linnæus, under " whoſe auſpices it has extended itſelf beyond all other " parts of zoology." p. 351.

however,

however, obſtruct his uſual exertions. His poverty is ſaid to have been ſo great, that he frequently wanted the common neceſſaries of life; and was even accuſtomed to wear the caſt-off ſhoes of his fellow-ſtudents, which he mended with paſteboard for his own uſe *. From this ſtate of penury, when he had no proſpect of the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance either from his family or friends, he was ſuddenly relieved by the learned Olaus Celſius, profeſſor of divinity, and reſtorer of natural hiſtory in Sweden; whoſe patronage he caſually acquired in the following manner: Celſius, having frequently noticed him making obſervations in the botanical garden, was aſtoniſhed at his proficiency in botany, the ſmalleſt knowledge of which was at that time eſteemed a rare qualification in Sweden; and being informed of his diſtreſſed ſituation, immediately received him into his houſe; admitted him to his table; gave him acceſs to his library; and engaged his aſſiſtance in completing his *Hierobotanicon*, a work aſcertaining the plants mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. The favours of this reſpectable patron, conferred in ſuch extreme

* Fabricius.

neceſſity, he always remembered and acknowledged with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of reverence and gratitude.

Soon afterwards he attracted the notice; and obtained the patronage, of Olaus Rudbeck, profeſſor of phyſic and botany, on the following occaſion: An academical diſſertation, *De Nuptiis Arborum* *, being read in the public ſchools, Linnæus wrote upon it ſome obſervations; wherein he introduced ſeveral remarks upon the generation of plants, to which he had particularly turned his attention. Theſe obſervations fell into the hands of Olaus Rudbeck, who was ſo ſtruck with their ſagacity and juſtneſs, as immediately to commence an acquaintance with the author: his abilities and knowledge being developed upon a nearer intimacy, the profeſſor appointed him tutor to his ſons; in ſome meaſure directed his ſtudies; and thought him ſufficiently qualified, though in the 23d year of his age, to read occaſional lectures in the botanical garden, by which means he obtained a

* The theſis is ſtyled Γαμος φυτων, ſive de Nuptiis Arborum de quibus Diſſertationem Philologico-criticam publico bonorum examini ſubmittit Petrus Ugla, 23 Dec. 1729.

ſmall

ſmall income. At this period Linnæus paſſed his days in herboriſing and giving lectures; and employed great part of the night in laying the foundation of the new ſyſtem, which he had already planned. About this period he began to arrange his *Bibliothèca Botanica*, his *claſſes*, and *genera plantarum*; from whence we may collect how early he had fixed the principles of that method, which he afterwards carried to ſuch perfection.

His knowledge was conſiderably improved by a journey into Lapland in 1732, to which, at the recommendation of Rudbeck and Celſius, he was deputed by the Royal Society of Sciences at Upſala, in order to inveſtigate the natural hiſtory of that unknown region: but as he received only a gratuity of about £. 8 towards defraying his expences, he was obliged to travel almoſt the whole way on foot, which he performed with great alacrity and ſpirit. He commenced this expedition on the 11th of May 1732; ſtayed ſome time at the mines of Fahlun; viſited various parts of Lapland; underwent many hardſhips; eſcaped imminent perils; and returned to Upſala in the month of October of the following year, after having traverſed near 4000 miles*. Dur-

* Bæck.

ing

ing his tour he tranſmitted to the Royal Society of Sciences a *Florula Lapponica*, which was printed in their acts, and was his firſt publication: in this catalogue of Lapland plants, he diſpoſed them according to the ſyſtem afterwards called the Sexual.

Soon after his return he continued his lectures upon botany; and delivered others alſo upon mineralogy and the art of aſſaying metals; which were the firſt on that ſubject ever given at Upſala; and from which he acquired great applauſe. But being not entitled from his ſtanding in the univerſity to read lectures, a formal complaint was lodged againſt him by profeſſor Roſen, phyſician to the king; and he had the mortification to receive an expreſs prohibition from the academical conſiſtory. Linnæus, who began to receive a comfortable ſubſiſtence from theſe lectures, and ſaw no immediate means of maintaining himſelf, was ſo exaſperated at this proceeding; that he drew his ſword upon the profeſſor; and might have proceeded to violence if he had not been prevented. In conſequence of this outrage, he would undoubtedly have been expelled from the univerſity; if his patron, Olaus Celſius, had not compromiſed the affair *.

* Fabricius.

In

In this juncture he was appointed to accompany the ſons of Baron Reuterholm into Dalecarlia and Norway. During this tour he improved his knowledge of mineralogy, by viſiting various mines and forges; and particularly at Fahlun, where he read lectures upon foſſils and the art of aſſaying, which were much frequented: at the ſame time he obtained the friendſhip of Dr. Morœus, the phyſician of the place, to whoſe daughter he betrothed himſelf. It being the cuſtom at that time to take a degree in ſome foreign univerſity, and the ſituation of Linnæus not being adequate to ſuch an expence; the young lady preſented him with an hundred ducats = about £. 50, to take his doctor's degree at Harderwick in Guelderland *. With this view he commenced his journey in 1735; and proceeded to Copenhagen and Hamburgh, where he gave a proof of his accurate knowledge in natural hiſtory, by diſcovering, that a celebrated ſnake with ſeven heads, belonging to the burgomaſter Spreckelſen, and which had been long eſteemed a great wonder, was a mere impoſition. Upon the firſt inſpection, our naturaliſt perceived that the ſix heads,

* Fabricius.

notwith-

notwithſtanding the art with which they were joined together, were jaws of weaſels covered with the ſkin of ſnakes *.

Linnæus, to whom 100 ducats appeared an immenſe ſum, thought his riches inexhauſtible; and, remaining for a conſiderable time at Hamburgh, where he was pleaſed with his ſituation, he found himſelf upon his arrival in Holland, reduced to extreme neceſſity, and unable to diſburſe the expence of a doctor's degree: he therefore applied by letter to Boerhaave; acquainting him that he was a perſon who had devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of botany, but who laboured under the moſt ſevere diſtreſſes. Boerhaave, the friend and protector of ſcience, received Linnæus in his garden: among other topics of converſation, he pointed out the *Cratægus Aria*; and demanded, whether he had ever obſerved that plant? adding, that it had not yet been deſcribed by any writer. Linnæus anſwered, that it was a native of Sweden, and deſcribed by Vaillant. Boerhaave ſupported the contrary; and, convinced of the

* The reader will find a plate of this factitious monſter in Seba's Muſeum, Vol. I. Table 102.

juſtneſs

juſtneſs of his aſſertion, becauſe he had himſelf ſuperintended the publication of Vaillant's work, immediately brought the book to Linnæus; who, without heſitation, referred to the deſcription, which accurately correſponded with the plant in queſtion *. From this ſpecimen of his accurate knowledge in botany, Boerhaave became his patron, and recommended him to the protection of Mr. Clifford; by whom he was appointed ſuperintendent of a botanical garden †, lately formed at a very extraordinary expence. In this new ſituation, highly adapted to his circumſtances and genius, he received a ſalary of a ‡ ducat per day; had the inſpection of a garden rich in the choiceſt plants; and was not confined to any expence for obtaining every ſpecies of exotics, and procuring the works of the moſt eminent botanical authors. In addition alſo to theſe favourable opportunities of increaſing his knowledge, he travelled, at the charge of Mr. Clifford, into England and France. During only two years reſidence with

* Fabricius.

† At Hartcamp, about three miles from Harlem.

‡ About 9*s.* 6*d.*

Mr.

Mr. Clifford, he gave to the public many works * in various branches of natural hiſtory; which raiſed his reputation very high in Europe; and in which he diſcovered an amazing ſagacity in methodizing and claſſing, with the niceſt diſcrimination, the various productions in the three kingdoms of nature. In theſe publications he ventured, young and

* Syſtema Naturæ, comprized, as Dr. Pulteney ſays, in twelve pages, and is the outlines of the ſucceeding editions — Fundamenta Botanica — Bibliotheca Botanica — Muſa Cliffortiana—Genera Plantarum—Viridarium Cliffortianum — Methodus Sexualis—Flora Lapponica—Critica Botanica—Hortus Cliffortianus—Artedi Ichtyologia —Claſſes Plantarum. "We cannot ſufficiently," ſays Dr. Bæck, with juſtneſs, "wonder how, within ſo ſhort a ſpace "as two years, during which period he was ſo conſtantly "occupied in arranging the plants of Cliffort's Garden "according to his ſyſtem, and was ſo continually interrupted by foreign viſitors, Linnæus could alſo find time "to put forth ſo many writings, each of which would have "been ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed the reputation of a "man of learning; and theſe writings, founded upon his "own diſcoveries, and tending to give a new form to a "whole ſcience. The materials of ſome, indeed, had been "collected and digeſted in Sweden; but it is a fact ſcarcely "credible, that the *Hortus Cliffortianus*, a work which "contains ſo much knowledge, ſhould have been written "and printed in leſs than nine months." For an account of theſe various publications ſee Pulteney, p. 16—30.

unknown as he was, to commit his new ſyſtem to the world; which, undefended by its author, and ſupported only by its intrinſic merit, conquered all oppoſition from men of the firſt abilities and decided character *.

His reſidence in Holland, which had hitherto contributed in ſo eſſential a manner to his riſe and improvement, was at length embittered by a very dangerous diſorder that terminated in an ague. He became ſuddenly penſive, diſcontented, expreſſed an inſurmountable deſire to fulfil his matrimonial engagements; and was impatient to ſhow himſelf in Sweden, where he flattered himſelf with the proſpect of a moſt honourable reception.

Having declined many offers of promotion in Holland, he quitted that country in the ſpring of 1738; and, after paſſing a ſhort

* Among others the celebrated Dillenius, though he candidly acknowledged the merits of the Linnæan ſyſtem, confeſſed that he was too far advanced in life to ſtudy a new arrangement. The ſame reaſons may account for the coolneſs of reception he met with from Sir Hans Sloane, notwithſtanding the following letter of recommendation written by Boerhaave: "*Linnæus, qui has tibi dabit li-*
"*teras, eſt unicè dignus te videre, unice dignus a te videri, qui*
"*vos videbit ſimul, videbit hominum par, cui ſimile vix dabit*
"*orbis.*" See Pulteney, p. 12.

time

time at Paris, arrived at Stockholm in the month of September; where he ſettled as a phyſician, and married in the following year the lady to whom he had betrothed himſelf at Fahlun.

Linnæus had returned to his native country full of the moſt ſanguine expectations that his merit would be immediately recognized; but, to uſe his biographer's * expreſſions, "he was aſtoniſhed to find that he "was conſidered more as a ſtranger among "his countrymen than among foreigners." He was ſo mortified at this diſappointment, and the ſmall degree of practice which he at firſt obtained; that he had once reſolved to accept the offers of his patrons in Holland; or to ſettle at Gottingen, at the earneſt ſolicitation of the celebrated Haller. But although his acknowledged merit, and uncommon reputation, ſoon ſecured to him the patronage of ſeveral illuſtrious perſonages; yet he paid the uſual tax of genius, by experiencing a conſiderable degree of envy and oppoſition; and though by theſe means he was at firſt involved in ſome difficulties, only a

* Bæck.

ſhort period elapſed before he acquired an extenſive practice. His moſt conſiderable and zealous patron was count Teſſin, the firſt miniſter, whoſe collection he afterwards deſcribed in his *Muſeum Teſſinianum.*

By the intereſt of that nobleman he obtained, in the beginning of 1739, the office of phyſician to the fleet; and a ſtipend from the ſtates for reading lectures in mineralogy upon the collection of foſſils belonging to the board of mines *. Count Teſſin alſo recommended him in ſuch ſtrong terms to their Swediſh majeſties, that they honoured him with their patronage. Under his direction the king formed a collection of quadrupeds, birds, fiſhes, and ſerpents, at Ulricſdal; and the queen of inſects and ſhells at Drottningſholm; both of which have been accurately deſcribed by Linnæus himſelf. During his reſidence at Stockholm, he aſſiſted, as I have before obſerved, in founding a literary ſociety, which was afterwards called the Royal Academy of Sciences; and of which he was appointed the firſt preſident.

In 1741 he at length obtained the object

* Bæck.

of

of his warmeſt ambition, the profeſſorſhip of botany in the univerſity of Upſala. Upon the death of Roberg, profeſſor of practical medicine and anatomy, Linnæus was appointed to fill his chair; which he changed, in 1742, with profeſſor Roſen, for that of botany: he was at the ſame time appointed to ſuperintend the phyſic-garden; and undertook to read lectures in botany, natural hiſtory, dietetics, on the knowledge of diſorders, and the *materia medica*. From this period he paſſed the remaining part of his life almoſt uniformly at Upſala.

He turned his principal attention and care to the regulation and improvement of the botanical garden; which, at the time of his appointment to the profeſſorſhip, ſcarcely contained 40 exotics; but produced, in 1748, notwithſtanding the obſtructions ariſing from the ſeverity of the climate, 1100 ſpecies, excluſive of indigenous plants and varieties. His own collection of natural hiſtory was rich only in plants; a circumſtance chiefly owing to the number of quadrupeds, ſhells, and inſects, which he preſented to their majeſties for their cabinets at Ulricſdal and Drottningſholm. His herbarium was highly valuable,

from the number and arrangement of the ſpecimens.

By his incomparable lectures he raiſed the univerſity to the higheſt repute; and induced many foreigners to reſort to Upſala. He was always attended by a numerous audience; and his great art was not only in ſatisfying the curioſity, but in gaining the affection and eſteem of the ſtudents. His lectures were diſtinguiſhed by the conciſeneſs and preciſion ſo conſpicuous in his works; and yet were delivered with a ſpirit and animation which irreſiſtibly caught the attention of his hearers: for he ſpoke with a perſuaſion which was inſpired by his deep inſight, his juſt conceptions and his zealous ardour for the knowledge of nature *. He diffuſed a ſudden ſpirit of inquiry; and kindled among his ſtudents a new zeal for the ſtudy of natural hiſtory. During the firſt years of his reſidence at Upſala, he gave public herboriſing

* Bæck and Fabricius. Nothing can mark the philoſopher's paſſion for natural hiſtory more than theſe expreſſions in a letter to Mr. Pennant on the following occaſion. Having received the firſt notice of the Anomia retuſa (Syſt. Nat. 1151. N° 225.) being found in a recent

ſing lectures in ſpring and ſummer. In theſe botanical excurſions he was attend-

cant ſtate, from Mr. Pennant, who obſerved one adhering to a ſea-plant drawn out of the Norwegian ſeas, he wrote to him, "Pro gaudio exultans quod detexeras con- "cham anomiam a nullo mortalium antea viſam, quâque "facem accenderas ſcientia naturali luculentiſſimam in "deperditis huc uſque concharum generibus. De hâc "conchâ die noctuque cogito; de eo loquor hodiè; noctu "de eo ſomnio." Dec. 3, 1756.

In another letter to our Engliſh zoologiſt he thus acknowledges a preſent of his Synopſis of Quadrupeds, and candidly allows the merit of the work, although it differed in ſome reſpect from his own method of claſſing animals. "Diu audivi D. Troill ſecum adduxiſſe dona tua, quæ "avidiſſime exſpectavi. Redux tandem pridie ad nos ac- "ceſſit, et mihi obtulit Synopſin tuam *of Quadrupeds* et "Zoologiam Indicam. Pro ſingulis grates reddo quas "unquam poſſim calidiſſimas. Synopſin tuam legam et "relegam millies. Multa in eo occurrunt lectu mihi "jucundiſſima, et maxime utilia quæ in ſuccum et ſan- "guinem.———Perlecto hoc opere multa a te quæram "nec unquam me ingratum ſentias.—Non de methodo "diſputabo; mihi perinde erit utrum naturæ cultor ſit "Lutheranus, Calvinianus, Judaicus, aut Mahometanus, "unice notitiam ſpecierum quæram. O utinam viderem "reliqua tua opera imprimis de avibus, quam multa inde "addiſcerem quæ etiamnum me fugiunt.—Tua *Indian* "*Zoology* perpulchra erat; pulcherrimæ figuræ rariſſima- "rum certe avium; deſcriptiones etiam exactiſſimæ.— "Vale plura proxime." Upſaliæ, 1773, d. 2. Maii.

The public are now under freſh obligations to Mr. Pennant, for his long expected work, The Arctic Zoology.

ed with a band of trumpets and French-horns; and ſallied out at the head of 200 or 300 ſtudents, divided into detached companies. When Linnæus was inclined to explain any curious plant, bird, or inſect, which had either fallen under his own notice, or was brought to him by any of the ſtudents; the ſtragglers were called together by the ſound of muſic, and crowding round their maſter liſtened in reſpectful ſilence while he offered his obſervations *.

His reputation was now ſo widely ſpread in foreign countries; that he received the moſt flattering invitations to Peterſburgh, to Gottingen, and particularly to Madrid; where he was offered by the king of Spain a very conſiderable ſtipend †, the rank of nobility, and the toleration of his religion. But the proſpect even of the moſt ſplendid advantages could not ſeduce him from his native country; where he had acquired the eſteem of his ſovereign, and the general reſpect of his coun-

* I am indebted to Sir John Cullum for this anecdote, who received it from Dr. Solander; and it has been ſince confirmed to me by Mr. Dryander, a Swediſh gentleman, who frequently attended theſe botanical excurſions.

† A penſion of 2000 piſtoles. Pulteney, p. 35.

trymen,

trymen, which he maintained until the day of his death.

His ſervices in promoting every branch of natural hiſtory were acknowledged in the fulleſt manner; and every aſſiſtance afforded to his endeavours to improve and diffuſe his favourite ſcience. A new houſe was raiſed for him, at the public expence, cloſe to the phyſic-garden: he was occaſionally deputed by the ſtates to make excurſions into various parts of Sweden, with a view to the advancement of natural hiſtory. For this purpoſe, he, at different times, viſited the Iſlands of Gothland and Oeland, the provinces of Skone and Weſt Gothland; and communicated to the public, in his native language, the Itineraries of his Travels, which are ſaid to be replete with curious and philoſophical obſervations; the general purport of which was principally directed in adapting natural hiſtory to œconomical uſes. Many of his ſcholars * were

* Kalm journeyed to North America; Haſſelquiſt to Smyrna, Egypt, and Paleſtine; Ternſtroem, Toren, and Oſbeck, to China; Rolander to Surinam; Loefling to Spain and North America; Forſkal to Arabia; Thunberg to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and Japan; Sparman to the Cape and South Seas; and above all, the much to be regretted Dr. Solander round the world.

alſo, under his auſpices, diſpatched to various parts of the world, at the expence of the public, or of particular ſocieties; and they all ſeem to have caught from their beloved maſter a ſpirit of emulation and zeal for ſcience: the communications which he received from their unremitted labours furniſhed him with ſuch information as enabled his comprehenſive mind to appropriate, as it were, their diſcoveries, and to "exemplify in a "more perfect and detailed manner his ſyſ-"tem of nature *." Thus his genius may be ſaid to have diffuſed itſelf through the moſt diſtant regions of the globe; and his ſpirit ſtill continues to animate the zealous diſciples of the Linnæan ſchool.

The following circumſtances, relative to his deceaſe, are related by his Swediſh biographer †. In May 1774, while he was reading lectures in the botanical garden, he was ſeized with an apoplectic ſtroke, that was followed by a debility which he himſelf pronounced the forerunner of death. His limbs were affected to ſuch a degree, that he could not be moved without extreme pain and dif-

* Pulteney, p. 34. † Bæck.

ficulty.

ficulty. In autumn, however, he was ſomewhat recovered; which he, in the enthuſiaſm of ſcience, imputed to a preſent of ſeveral hundred rare plants, ſent to him by the king. Theſe plants, brought from Surinam by Dahlberg, a Swediſh officer, were ſo well preſerved in ſpirits, that their flowers, fruit, and leaves, were diſtinctly viſible. He found great amuſement and conſolation in arranging and publiſhing a ſhort deſcription of them, under the title of *Plantæ Surinamenſes*, which was his laſt performance. In June 1776, he was afflicted with a ſecond ſtroke of apoplexy, which reduced him to ſo weak a ſtate, that, to uſe his own expreſſions in his Journal, "Linnæus limps, can hardly move, ſpeaks "unintelligibly, and can ſcarcely write." In the ſame year a paralytic ſtroke deprived him of the uſe of his right ſide, and confined him wholly to his bed. His ſtrength gradually forſook him; his mental faculties were impaired; and an ague, attended by a dropſy, brought on a tranquil diſſolution on the 10th of January 1778, in the 71ſt year of his age.

His remains were interred in the cathedral of Upſala, with all the funeral honours which gratitude and reſpect could inſpire. The king of

of Sweden ordered a medal to be ſtruck expreſſive of the dejection of ſcience upon the deceaſe of Linnæus, and a monument to be erected over his aſhes: his majeſty alſo attended the meeting of the Academy of Sciences, in which his commemoration ſpeech was delivered; and, as a ſtill higher tribute to his memory, lamented, in a ſpeech from the throne to the diet of 1778, the irretrievable loſs which Sweden had ſuffered from his death *.

The moſt trifling anecdotes relative to the perſon and character of ſuch eminent men as Linnæus cannot fail of being particularly intereſting; and our curioſity in theſe reſpects will be highly gratified by the following detail of a † naturaliſt perſonally acquainted with him; who repreſents him chiefly in private and domeſtic ſcenes; which, though they place every character in the trueſt light, yet too often eſcape the notice of biographers.

" I had the good fortune of enjoying the " inſtructions, protection, and familiar ac- " quaintance of Linnæus, from 1762 to 1764.

* Pulteney, p. 212. † Fabricius.

" No

" No day paſſed in which I did not ſee him;
" none in which I did not attend his lectures,
" or converſe with him in the moſt friendly
" manner. In ſummer I followed him into
" the country, accompanied by two friends,
" Kuhn and Zoega, who were foreigners as
" well as myſelf: in winter we took up our
" abode oppoſite to his houſe at Upſala;
" where he viſited us almoſt every day without
" form, in his red night-gown and green cap
" lined with fur, and with his pipe in his
" hand. His converſation was lively and
" agreeable: he would amuſe us with many
" anecdotes relative to the naturaliſts both
" native and foreign, whom he had formerly
" known; he would frequently reſolve dif-
" ficulties which occurred to us in the pro-
" greſs of our ſtudies, and often favoured us
" with occaſional inſtructions. During our
" unreſtrained intercourſe, he would frequent-
" ly burſt into loud fits of laughter; his
" countenance would brighten with pleaſure;
" and his mind would expand with a degree
" of openneſs and freedom, which ſhowed
" his natural inclination to ſociableneſs and
" friendſhip. Not leſs joyous was our coun-
" try life. We dwelled in a farm-houſe at a
" ſmall

" ſmall diſtance from his habitation. Lin-
" næus in ſummer generally roſe at four *;
" would frequently call upon us at ſix; and,
" having breakfaſted, would read lectures upon
" the *Ordines naturales plantarum* until ten.
" Then we attended him to the neighbour-
" ing rocks, where he had ſufficient employ-
" ment in deſcribing and detailing their dif-
" ferent productions till mid-day, the uſual
" hour of his dinner; after which we re-
" paired to his houſe, and paſſed the evening
" in his company. Every Sunday we receiv-
" ed a viſit from Linnæus and his whole fa-
" mily; on which occaſion we always pro-
" vided a peaſant who played upon a kind of
" violin, and danced in the barn with infinite
" ſatisfaction. In truth, though our ball was
" not very ſplendid; our ſociety not nume-
" rous; our muſic not ſuper-excellent; our
" minuets and Poliſh dances not diverſified;
" yet we amuſed ourſelves not a little. The
" old man, who generally ſat ſmoking his

* " In ſummer," ſays Dr. Bæck, " he uſually ſlept only
" from 10 to 3; and in winter from 9 to 6. Whenever
" he perceived himſelf fatigued with too much applica-
" tion, he quitted his ſtudy, and relieved himſelf with ſo-
" ciety."

" pipe

" pipe with my friend Zoëga, and looked
" on, would now and then ſtart up and join
" himſelf in a Poliſh dance, in which he far
" ſurpaſſed the youngeſt of the company.
" Thoſe days and hours will never be for-
" gotten by me, but will always be recollected
" with pleaſure.

" Linnæus was ſmall in ſtature, and ap-
" peared ſtill ſhorter from a habit of ſtooping.
" He was thin, but well-made; and when I
" knew him, age had already begun to mark
" his forehead with wrinkles. His counte-
" nance was open; almoſt always ſerene; and
" his eyes were the moſt expreſſive I ever be-
" held: they were ſmall indeed, but lively and
" piercing beyond deſcription; I do not recol-
" lect their colour, but their glances would now
" and then penetrate and read my very ſoul.
" The engraving prefixed to the *Species Plan-*
" *tarum* is a very ſtriking reſemblance of him.
" His mind was noble; his underſtanding
" was quick and acute. His great pre-emi-
" nence conſiſted in the regular connection of
" his ideas; and all his words and actions
" were orderly and ſyſtematic. In his youth
" his memory was ſtrong, but began to fail
" at a very early period of his life. I per-

" ceived ſeveral inſtances of his not being
" able to remember the names of his neareſt
" acquaintance; and once in particular found
" him in great diſtreſs, having juſt written a
" letter to his father-in-law, whoſe name he
" had abſolutely forgotten. His heart was
" open to every impreſſion of joy; he loved
" pleaſantry, and was fond of ſociety; was an
" excellent companion; cheerful and agree-
" able in his converſation; of fanciful wit; and
" poſſeſſed a happy talent of introducing and
" applying appoſite anecdotes. His paſſions
" were ſtrong and violent; he was haſty and
" choleric, but ſoon appeaſed. His friend-
" ſhips were warm and unalterable, and more
" particularly to his favourite ſcholars; his
" attachment was always founded upon a love
" of ſcience; he was ſo fortunate as to ex-
" perience few inſtances of ingratitude; and
" it is well known with what zeal his diſciples
" returned his friendſhip, and how frequently
" they engaged in his defence.

" Though his love of fame was boundleſs,
" and his motto, *Famam extendere factis*, the
" true image of his ſoul; yet this ambition
" had no other object than literary eminence;
" and never degenerated into an offenſive and

" unſocial

" unſocial pride. Nor was the rank, to which
" he had been raiſed by the favour of his ſo-
" vereign, any otherwiſe agreeable to him
" than as a mark of his high reputation in
" ſcience. In matters relative to botany he
" could not eaſily brook any contradiction:
" he thankfully, indeed, received and uſed the
" annotations of his friends for the improve-
" ment of his works; but he diſdained the
" attacks of his opponents; and, by never
" replying, conſigned them to that oblivion
" in which they have long been buried. He
" was himſelf liberal in his encomiums, and
" not diſpleaſed with being admired, which
" ſeems to have been his principal foible: his
" love of praiſe, however, was founded on the
" ſtrong perception of his own excellence; on
" his acknowledged improvements of natural
" hiſtory; and upon the conſciouſneſs of being
" eſteemed the firſt ſyſtematic writer of the
" age. Tournefort, as he often aſſured me,
" he had looked up to from his youth as the
" maſter whom he had propoſed to imitate;
" and whom he ſoon ſurpaſſed in a very con-
" ſiderable degree.

" His way of life was moderate and par-
" ſimonious; and he has been accuſed of co-

" vetouſneſs *. I cannot, however, but hold " him in ſome meaſure excuſed, if he placed " too high a value upon money, the want of " which he had ſo long and ſo ſeverely ex- " perienced. It may alſo be urged in his de- " fence; that the habits of extreme parſi- " mony, which he had contracted under the " moſt preſſing neceſſities, adhered to him af- " terwards; and could not be ſhaken off even " in times of affluence. I never, however, " perceived that his frugality degenerated in- " to ſordid avarice; and I can allege my own " example as an inſtance to the contrary. He " refuſed in ſo peremptory a manner to accept " the acknowledgment due to him for reading " lectures to us during the whole ſummer; " that we were obliged (after having in vain " endeavoured to force it upon him) to leave " it ſecretly behind us."

To the honour of his country and the preſent age, Linnæus reaped the advantage of his

* It is a ſufficient refutation of the charge of avarice, that " though he was extremely ſparing in his own private " expences; yet he was liberal in entertaining his friends, " and in acts of charity; and that he always remitted to " poor ſtudents what was due to him for attending his lec- " tures." Bæck.

ſuperior

ſuperior genius by the unſolicited accumulation of wealth and honours. In 1753 he was created a knight of the Polar-ſtar, and ennobled in 1756.

His writings brought him, on account of their number, no inconſiderable emolument *; while his ſalary as profeſſor, his practice as a phyſician, and the preſents which he occaſionally received from his ſcholars, rendered him eaſy and independent. He purchaſed in the neighbourhood of Upſala two eſtates, at Hammarby and at Sæfja; at the former of which he built a villa; and at his deceaſe bequeathed an ample proviſion to his widow and children. He left four daughters and one ſon, Charles Linnæus, who ſucceeded him in the profeſſorſhip, and died on the firſt of November 1783.

The name of Linnæus may be claſſed amongſt thoſe of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, Euler, and other great philoſophers, who were friends to religion: he always teſtified in his converſations, writings, and actions, the higheſt reverence for the Supreme Being; and was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed with the idea of omni-

* A ducat, or about 9*s.* 6*d.* each ſheet. Fabricius.

preſence, that he wrote over the door of his library: *Innocui vivite, numen adeſt.*

The great merits of Linnæus, as a naturaliſt, are to be eſtimated from the rude ſtate in which he found all the branches of natural hiſtory, and the perfection to which he carried them; in drawing order from confuſion, and perſpicuity from darkneſs: his underſtanding, comprehenſive, yet accurate, was capable of combining and arranging an almoſt infinite variety of objects; which the magnitude of the greateſt could not fatigue, nor the inſignificance of the ſmalleſt elude. The mere catalogue of his works would make an ordinary pamphlet; and it would require no ſmall volume to trace even the outlines of his ſyſtem, now diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Linnæan, which new methodized and reformed the whole compaſs of natural hiſtory. In theſe extenſive and various purſuits, we know not which to admire moſt; his intimate knowledge; his fertility of invention; his indefatigable induſtry; his ſcientific arrangement; or that wonderful exactneſs in diſcriminating, where the minuteſt ſhades of difference are ſcarcely perceptible.

The

The reader, who is deſirous of further intelligence concerning this great naturaliſt, will find his curioſity amply gratified from the peruſal of Dr. Pulteney's "General View "of the Writings of Linnæus." In that excellent publication the ingenious author has detailed a liſt of his numerous works, méthodically claſſed according to the æra of their appearance; to which is ſubjoined a critical account of their general contents. He has alſo traced the progreſs, and laid open the leading principles of the Linnæan ſyſtem, with a maſterly preciſion and accuracy, which could only be derived from the moſt perfect knowledge of the ſubject.

CHAP. VIII.

Remarks on the writings of Wallerius, Cronſtedt, *and* Bergman.—*Analyſis of the Sciagraphia Mineralis.*

THE contents of this chapter being at my requeſt communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, I claim no other merit than that of giving it to the public.

" The public revenue and wealth of Sweden " being intimately connected with the mines, " particularly thoſe of iron, mineralogy has " been eminently encouraged and cultivated " in that kingdom. To this cauſe we may, " in a great meaſure, attribute the acknow- " ledged ſkill of the Swediſh chymiſts, as ſu- " perior to thoſe of many other nations: for " how much ſoever we owe to the labours " of Pott and Margraaf, and ſeveral other " Germans; it is to the Swedes that we are " indebted for the firſt rational ſyſtem of mi- " neralogy. Among thoſe who principally " taught the method of arranging theſe un- " organized bodies, we muſt not omit the

" great Linnæus: he laid the baſis of what " may be called the claſſical foundation of " his ſyſtem, in the chymical analyſis; hav- " ing early diſtributed the earths into Cal- " careous, Vitreſcent, and Apyrous, and eſta- " bliſhed his orders and genera, on figure, " colour, hardneſs, and other ſenſible qua- " lities. This ſyſtem was, in a great mea- " ſure, adopted by Wallerius. But it is to " Cronſtedt that we owe the full and more " preciſe diſpoſition of theſe ſubjects, accord- " ing to their conſtituent parts and prin- " ciples: and it muſt be allowed, that the " diſcoveries of the Swediſh mineralogiſts and " chymiſts have, within a few years, greatly " advanced this branch of knowledge.

" Wallerius publiſhed at Stockholm, in " 1747, the firſt ſketch of his ſyſtem in " the Swediſh tongue; and he has preſerved " nearly the ſame arrangement in the ſub- " ſequent editions of 1754 and 1778. In " the following year he gave to the world " a diſſertation 'On the Nature and Origin of " Nitre;' and in 1751, after he had been " nominated profeſſor of chymiſtry, metal- " lurgy, and pharmacy, an academical diſſer- " tation 'On the Principles of Vegetation.'

" Soon after his appointment to the pro-
" feſſorſhip, he printed in his native lan-
" guage, ' An Epiſtle on the true Nature,
" Utility, and Excellence of Chymiſtry.'
" In the next year, in addition to his tract on
" Vegetation, he publiſhed another, relative
" to ' The Methods and Uſe of rendering
" Seeds fertile, by waſhing or infuſing them
" for a certain Time in various Kinds of Li-
" quors :' and in the reſult he gives it as his
" opinion, that ſuch methods are generally
" hazardous.

" In the ſame year Wallerius put forth, in
" the 7th volume of the *Acta Academiæ Na-*
" *turæ Curioſorum*, a paper ' On the beſt
" Method of making Tar from the Pine and
" Fir Trees ;' in which he takes occaſion to
" treat of the principles of tar-water, the me-
" dicinal fame whereof had, by means of the
" Biſhop of Cloyne's *Siris*, ſpread over all
" Europe. In the ſame acts he has written
" ' On the ſtellated or arboreſcent appearance
" on the *Regulus Antimonii* ;' and gives direc-
" tions to prepare the regulus ſo as to ſucceed
" in rendering the ſtar viſible ; obſerving, that
" it depends on the antimony being more or
" leſs deprived of its ſulphur. This year
" produced

" produced from the profeſſor a theſis, con-
" taining ' Some Strictures on the erroneous
" Method of preparing certain Chymical Re-
" medies :' a ſignal proof of his application of
" true chymical knowledge to the real advan-
" tage of practical medicine. In the acts of
" the Royal Society of Stockholm for 1754,
" the profeſſor has deſcribed the method of
" making, from mercury alone, the *arbor*
" *dianæ*, or what has been called the philoſo-
" phical tree. In Vol. XXI. for 1760, with
" equal ability, he inquires into ' the nature
" of that earth which exiſts in all vegetables
" and animals as a principle of their compo-
" ſition ;' and he here takes occaſion to ſpeak
" of the method of obtaining pure earth of
" this kind, from water by trituration, as
" mentioned by Eller : a fact which has been
" much doubted, and diſputed, by many ſub-
" ſequent philoſophers and chymiſts. In theſe
" acts alſo, for the year 1765, we find the re-
" ſult of his examination of platina, by which
" it appears that he thought it a real metal,
" and not, as ſome have judged, either a recre-
" ment, or a mixed metal.

" In 1761 he publiſhed an academical diſ-
" ſertation, under the title of ' Chymical Prin-

" ciples

" ciples of Agriculture,' in quarto, nearly of " 300 pages; in which the various methods " of fertilizing different ſoils, by manures, " and other proceſſes, are diſcuſſed. About " the ſame time he wrote, in the Swediſh " tongue, a theſis, on occaſion of ſome miſ- " chief done at Upſala by lightning, intended " to prove the perfect ſimilarity between the " matter of lightning and electrical fire. In " 1768 Wallerius gave to the world a large " volume in octavo, in Latin, 'On the Ele- " ments of Metallurgy,' in which he has co- " pioufly delivered the principles of the doci- " maſtic art. The ſame year he alſo put " forth what he calls 'Lucubrations on all " the Syſtems of Mineralogical Writers,' and " on the 'method of conſtructing a rational " claſſification of the foſſil kingdom.' This " is a work of much labour and erudition; " and is highly gratifying to a curious ſearcher " into nature. He begins with the earlieſt " writers on the ſubject, and follows them " through each century to the preſent time. " He has exemplified the latter part of his " lucubrations in his own ſyſtem, of which " he publiſhed the firſt volume in a Latin " edition in 1772, and the ſecond in 1778.

" This

" This work muſt be conſidered as his ca-
" pital performance. The French edition of
" 1754 had been in great eſtimation and
" conſtant uſe: this is much enlarged; and,
" by being rendered into Latin, is become
" more ſcientific, and better adapted to ge-
" neral uſe. The great treaſure of erudition
" and experimental knowledge which it con-
" tains, makes it unqueſtionably one of the
" moſt valuable books on the ſcience; and,
" in defiance of all changes of ſyſtems or
" circumſtances in mineralogy and chymiſtry,
" it muſt long remain a ſtriking inſtance of
" the labour, learning, and ſcience of its
" author. Beſide the excellent arrangement
" given to the whole ſubject, and the well-
" defined characters of each claſs, order, and
" genus, it is enriched at the end of each
" genus with copious *ſcholia*, containing the
" opinions of preceding authors on the ſe-
" veral ſubſtances; and he concludes with
" his own idea of the true nature or com-
" poſition of each. One of the lateſt of his
" works is his *Meditationes de Origine Mundi*,
" printed at Stockholm, in octavo, 1779,
" pp. 242. It is to be expected, that many
" of the principles contained in this work

" relating

" relating to fire, light, fixed air, &c. and " much of his reaſoning, particularly on the " inflammable, ſaline, and aqueous principles " in bodies, will not be received by all the " philoſophers of this country; nor his theory " of the formation of this globe, be thought " ſatisfactory. Yet, the learning he has diſ- " played, and his well-intended ſolicitude to " reconcile his ſyſtem, and the changes of the " elements, to the Moſaic account of the crea- " tion, will enſure his work a candid reception " among all who are inclined to ſpeculate on " theſe intricate ſubjects, and are friendly to " religion.

" This learned man, after having filled the " chair for thirty years with high reputation, " reſigned in 1767 the profeſſorſhip; and was " honoured by his ſovereign with the order of " Vaſa. Wallerius is now above eighty, and " ſtill continues to enjoy, at his houſe near " Upſala, a literary retirement.

" Axel Frederic Cronſtedt, the excellent " Cronſtedt, as he is juſtly called, deſcended " from a noble German family naturalized " in Sweden, was a native of Sudermanland, " and was born in 1722. He ſtudied mi- " neralogy under Wallerius, Swab, and Tilas.

" He

" He commenced his walk in this field of " ſcience by a diſcovery which ſoon rendered " him conſpicuous, that of a new ſemimetal, " called Nickel. He gave the firſt inti- " mation of it in a paper publiſhed in the " Stockholm Acts, for the year 1751; and " he detailed ſome experiments made upon it, " in the ſame work, for the year 1754. In " 1753 he publiſhed Obſervations 'on Gyp- " ſum;' and in the ſixteenth volume of the " Acts for 1755, gave a curious account of " ſilver precipitated from water in the Kongſ- " berg mines. In 1756 Cronſtedt diſtin- " guiſhed himſelf by the diſcovery of the " zeolite, which he firſt named, and ſeparated " as a diſtinct ſtone, conſiſting of a peculiar " earth, as its baſis: his obſervations on it " were printed in the Stockholm Acts for " that year. Profeſſor Bergman has ſince " found, by analyzing zeolite, that it conſiſts " of a mixture of ſiliceous, argillaceous, and " calcareous earth.

" In the ſame Acts, Vol. XVIII. for 1757, " he publiſhed an ingenious paper, with a " view to detect the colouring principle in " the cow-wheat *(Meſampyrum arvenſe)*, the " ſtalks of which, when faded, acquire a fine

" blue

" blue colour. They yield this colour to " water; and it is not deſtroyed either by " vinegar, or ſpirit of vitriol, or by alkalis, " unleſs boiled together with theſe latter; " which led him to ſuſpect that a vegetable " dye, or pigment, might be extracted from " this plant. In 1758, at which time he was " director of the mines of Dalecarlia and " Weſtmanland, Cronſtedt publiſhed his 'Eſ- " ſay towards a Syſtem of Mineralogy.' It " was printed in the Swediſh language, and " without the name of the author. In 1760, " it was tranſlated into German; and in 1770, " into Engliſh; and is now in the hands of " all diligent inquirers into the knowledge of " foſſils. Wallerius himſelf has called it *Opus* " *ſine pari.* The author, not being led away " with what he calls *Figuromania,* but neg- " lecting the external appearances of mineral " bodies, has ſucceeded beyond all others, in " claſſing them according to their conſtituent " principles. This method obliges him to " make no diſtinction between earths and " ſtones; and to throw into an appendix all " that are called figured extraneous foſſils, " which had held ſo diſtinguiſhed a rank in " former ſyſtems.

" In

"In the Stockholm Acts for 1761, he has "given ſome inſtructions relating to the choice "of ſtone for building; and hints at the "practicability of uſing the ſlag of iron ſmelt- "ing houſes, by running it into * moulds for "bricks; which hint is proſecuted in a ſub- "ſequent paper of the year 1763, adviſing, "that the lime which is uſed ſhould be re- "duced into fine powder. In the ſame vo- "lume he communicates ſome obſervations "'on the Phyſical Geography of the Pro- "vince of Jemtland in Sweden.' In the "25th volume for 1764, Cronſtedt delivered "in a proceſs on platina, when melted with "nickel and ſulphur; which he found re- "coverable in the form of a black powder, "by diſſolving the mixed ſubſtance in aqua "fortis.

"It is to be lamented that this able man "did not live longer, to improve ſtill further "that ſcience he ſo much enlightened. He "died in 1765, in the 43d year of his "age."

A poſthumous work of this accurate mi-

* This is now practiſed at the forges at Briſtol; and there are long ranges of wall near Bath covered with this material.

neralogiſt

neralogiſt has lately made its appearance. For ſome time before his death he was employed in arranging and preparing for the preſs an account of the mines of Weſtmanland and Dalecarlia, of which he was ſuperintendent. A copy of this performance, originally written by the author in the Swediſh tongue, which he completed but did not live to publiſh, was fortunately procured by Mr. Georgi, adjunct to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Peterſburgh; who has given to the world a German tranſlation of it under the following title *, "Cronſtedt's Mineralogical Account of the Mines of Weſtmanland and Dalecarlia, from his own obſervations and reſearches;" a work replete with much curious information, and remarkable for that accuracy and preciſion, which ſo highly diſtinguiſh all his other writings.

"I regret that it is not in my power to "furniſh the reader with more particular "anecdotes of profeſſor Bergman. He very "early diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſtrong at"tachment to ſcience; and was, at a young

* "Mineral Geſchichte ueber Weſtmanlandiſche und "Dalecarliſche Erdgeburge auf Beobachtungen und Un"terſuechungen gegruendet," &c.

"period

" period of his life, made profeſſor of mathe-
" matics and natural philoſophy in the uni-
" verſity of Upſala. We find him, ſo early
" as the year 1756, in the 17th volume of
" the Stockholm Acts, correcting a miſtake
" of the celebrated Linnæus; who, for want
" of more perfect information, had deſcribed,
" under the name of *coccus aquaticus*, the
" egg of a ſpecies of the leech genus; and,
" in the ſubſequent year, he gave an accurate
" deſcription of that genus, which was after-
" wards generally adopted by Linnæus him-
" ſelf.

" In 1759 he publiſhed a paper contain-
" ing 'A Review of the ſeveral Explana-
" tions which Natural Philoſophers have given
" of the Rainbow;' and, in 1760, ſome
" thoughts 'on the Origin of thoſe kinds of
" Meteors which are not accompanied by any
" ſenſible ſound or exploſion; and a paper on
" the opinions held by philoſophers, relating
" to the twilight; to which he has prefixed
" the account of Mairan's *anticrepuſculum*, or
" that of the horizon oppoſite to the ſun. In
" 1761 and 1762 profeſſor Bergman wrote, in
" the Swediſh Acts, on the ſubject of elec-

" tricity, in conſequence of a correſpondence " with Mr. Wilſon; and particularly on the " electrical quality of Iceland chryſtal, and " double refracting ſpar. In the year 1763 " he again diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the " entomologiſts, by a paper on the *tenthredo*, " or ſaw-fly, the caterpillars of which had " commonly been confounded with thoſe of " the butterfly and moth, until he diſcovered " that the feet in the latter are never more " than ſixteen, but that in the *tenthredo* they " always exceed that number. The ſame " year produced from the author, a reſult of " ſome electrical experiments, made with ſilk " of various colours, but which did not prove " ſatisfactory.

" In 1767, on the reſignation of Wallerius, " Mr. Bergman was choſen to ſucceed him as " profeſſor of chymiſtry and metallurgy. How " ably he has filled this chair, ſo honourably " occupied by his venerable predeceſſor, is " well known to all who are intereſted in theſe " purſuits. In the year 1764 the profeſſor " wrote a paper to aſcertain, from a number " of obſervations, the height in the atmoſphere " at which the *aurora borealis* exiſts. He

" computes,

" computes, that theſe appearances are ſome-
" times ſo low as at 20 Swediſh miles *; at
" others, that they are raiſed to 150: the me-
" dium he therefore fixes at 72. Theſe ob-
" ſervations were afterwards further proſecut-
" ed. In 1765 and 1766 he wrote again on
" electrical ſubjects, and chiefly on the pro-
" perty and laws of electricity in the Tour-
" malin; which had been put into his hands,
" by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stock-
" holm, for examination.

" In 1767 the profeſſor publiſhed ſome im-
" portant hints relative to the depuration of
" alum at the alum-works; obſerving, that
" it was cuſtomary to employ alkali, in order
" to free it from the vitriol. He adviſes
" rather to uſe for that purpoſe the admixture
" of a portion of argillaceous earth, and pro-
" poſes a tobacco-pipe clay. A paper having
" appeared in the Stockholm Acts for 1769,
" on the culture of pine-trees, Mr. Bergman
" alſo publiſhed in the ſame, 'An Account of
" the Inſects which deſtroy that Tree in
" Sweden;' and he attributes the devaſtation
" to the abundance of the *tenthredo* cater-

* A degree containing 10¼ Swediſh miles; a Swediſh mile = about 6½ Engliſh miles.

" pillar. In that kingdom, where ſuch im-
" menſe quantities of wood are conſumed in
" the ſmelting furnaces, theſe matters are de-
" ſerving of high attention. In 1770, in or-
" der to induce the Swediſh chymiſts to pre-
" pare corroſive ſublimate, which was then
" chiefly imported, our author publiſhed a
" paper, containing a recital of the various
" methods hitherto uſed to unite mercury with
" the marine acid; and he proſecutes the hiſ-
" tory of this combination in two ſubſequent
" volumes of the ſame Acts. Some build-
" ings at Stockholm having ſuffered by light-
" ning in the year 1769, our author, and his
" ſucceſſor in the profeſſorſhip of natural phi-
" loſophy, Mr. Wilkie, both publiſhed 'on
" the ſubject of conductors to lightning.'

" In 1771, Vol. XXXII. of the Stockholm
" Acts, profeſſor Bergman gives 'ſome In-
" ſtructions concerning the beſt Clay Com-
" poſitions for making Tiles.' In 1773 iſ-
" ſued his obſervations on fixed air; or, as
" he chuſes rather to call it, the aerial acid:
" this paper, and ſeveral others, printed be-
" fore and after this time, either ſeparately,
" or in the Stockholm Acts, have ſince been
" collected, and publiſhed by the author in
" Latin,

" Latin, in three volumes octavo, 1779, 1780, " 1783, under the title of *Opuſcula phyſica et* " *chemica* * ; *pleraque ſeorſim antea edita jam ab* " *auctore collecta, reviſa et aucta*; and have fur- " ther contributed to extend his fame, and " moſt deſervedly raiſe his character to a high " rank throughout Europe. The author pro- " poſes to carry on this miſcellaneous publi- " cation on the ſame plan.

" Dr. Troil's Account of Iceland contains " a very curious letter from the profeſſor, " written in 1776; in which he introduces " many judicious obſervations on the effects " of ſubterraneous fires, on the origin and for- " mation of baſaltes, and the lavas and foſſil " products of Iceland †.

" Profeſſor Bergman has not confined his " reſearches and inquiries to the mere analyſis " of bodies in the laboratory, but has ex-

* The following plan of this work is thus laid down by the author himſelf: " Primo volumini præſertim Halur- " gica inſerui, in ſecundo mineralogica et metallurgica " prodibunt, in tertio attractionum doctrina, una cum " analyſi quorundam corporum organicorum, in quarto " varia ad phyſicam et hiſtoriam naturalem pertinentia, et " in ſequentibus iterum chemica, ſi Deus vitam vireſque " largitur." Opuſ. Phyſ. Præf. p. xvi.

† See Troil's Letters on Iceland, p. 338. 400.

" tended his views to what is called phyſical " geography; and has ventured to give the " world his lucubrations on the ſtructure and " formation of the earth, in a profeſſed trea- " tiſe on the ſubject *. His eſſay on the " uſefulneſs of Chymiſtry, lately tranſlated " into the Engliſh language, evinces, not only " his extenſive acquaintance with this ſcience " in a theoretical and practical way, but alſo " his comprehenſive view of the good effects " its improvement muſt have on the intereſts " of mankind."

It may be proper to obſerve, that Mr. Bergman has compoſed two academical diſſertations †, replete with much accurate information on the origin and progreſs of chymiſtry. In the firſt he treats of the riſe of that art, and its gradual improvement, in a chronological ſeries, to the middle of the 7th century; in the ſecond he carries his inquiries from that period to the middle of the 17th century; and it is to be hoped that he will in

* " Phyſick Beſkrifnung oefoer Jordklotet," or Phyſical Deſcription of the Earth.

† De Primordiis Chemiæ in 1777. Chemiæ Progreſſus a Medio Sæc. VII. ad Medium Sæc. XVII.—1782.

the

the ſame manner proſecute this ſubject to the preſent time.

In the fourth volume of the Upſala Acts, the profeſſor has lately put forth *Meditationes de Syſtemate Foſſilium Naturali*; or, Conſiderations on the Natural Syſtem of Foſſils. This learned work is divided into two parts; the firſt, on their arrangement, treats of natural bodies in general, of the criteria of foſſils in general, of their claſſes, genera, ſpecies, varieties; the ſecond lays down rules for giving names to foſſils; a great deſideratum in this branch of natural knowledge; and which will tend to prevent that confuſion and uncertainty derived from the want of preciſe, general, and ſpecific appellations *.

" The reader will not wonder that ſuch " extraordinary merit ſhould have been duly " noticed by the king of Sweden. That " monarch has honoured profeſſor Bergman " with the order of Vaſa †; and all men of " ſcience will join in wiſhing that he may " long

* His works are now collected in three volumes octavo, excluſive of his Phyſical Geography in two volumes.

† Having omitted to give an account of the Swediſh orders, I ſhall take this opportunity of mentioning them. There are four orders; the three firſt were inſtituted in 1748, by Frederic I.; and the laſt by the preſent king.

" long fill the chair he now occupies ſo much " to the advancement of ſcience *."

I. The order of the Seraphim, or the blue ribband; which is appropriated to perſons of the firſt rank. It admits only of 24 members, excluſive of the royal family and foreign princes. II. The order of the Sword, or the yellow ribband, for the officers of the navy and army. There are three claſſes of this order: 1. Commanders of the Great Croſs, who wear the ribbands over the ſhoulders, and a ſtar on their coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband in the ſame manner, but without the ſtar. Each of theſe claſſes contains 24 members. 3. Knights, who wear the ſmall croſs pendent from the button-hole. The number of theſe is indefinite, but generally amounts to above 1000. III. Polar Star, or the black ribband. Of this order there are two claſſes: 1. Commanders, who wear the great croſs pendent round the neck. There are 24 of this claſs, but the king propoſes to add four for the biſhops. 2. Knights, who wear the ſmall croſs pendent from the button-hole, are, excluſive of foreigners, 48; to whom the king propoſes to add ſix for the clergy. This order, before the inſtitution of the following order of Vaſa, was conferred upon men of letters. IV. The order of Vaſa, or the green ribband, eſtabliſhed at the coronation of the preſent king, is divided into three claſſes: 1. Commanders of the Great Croſs, who wear the ribband over the ſhoulder, and the ſtar on the coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband over the ſhoulder without the ſtar. 3. Knights, who wear the ribband over the neck. This order is conferred upon perſons who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in agriculture, commerce, the arts, and particular ſciences; ſuch as natural hiſtory, chymiſtry, medicine, &c.

* Bergman was appointed Rector of the univerſity of Upſala, and died at Medvi in 1784, in the 50th year of his age.

The

The laſt work which I ſhall mention of this great chymiſt, is the *Sciagraphia Mineralis*, or Sketch of the Mineral Kingdom; which may be conſidered as heads of a courſe of lectures drawn up for the uſe of Mr. Ferber, who obtained the author's permiſſion to preſent it to the world. This ſhort, but able tract, was firſt publiſhed in 1782, at Leipſic and Deſſau, and was immediately reprinted in England and Italy.

I ſhall inſert in the Appendix, N° 3, an analyſis of it by the ſame ingenious author to whom I am indebted for the former part of this chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

General deſcription of the country.—Weſteros.—*Tomb of* Eric XIV.—*His impriſonment and death.*—*Account of his family.*—*Singular adventures of his eldeſt ſon* Guſtavus.—Kungſoer.—Arboga.—Orebro.—Marieſtadt.—Lidkioping.—Trolhætta.—*River* Gotha.—*Attempts to join the* Gulf of Bothnia *and the* German Ocean *by an inland navigation acroſs* Sweden.—*Fruitleſs endeavours to render the cataracts of* Trolhætta *navigable.*—*Deſcription of the works.*

THE provinces of Upland, Weſtmanland, and Nerike, which I traverſed in my way to Gotheborg, are eſteemed the richeſt and fineſt parts of Sweden; and indeed I can hardly figure to myſelf a more variegated or pleaſing ſcenery than is exhibited by the general face of the country. Hills and dales, rocks and vallies, ſmall plains, numerous lakes, foreſts, meadows and arable land, frequent towns and villages, and ſcattered farmhouſes, are blended together with a conſtant

and

and delightful variety. Thus Sweden, which ſome travellers, forming their judgment merely from the few diſtricts that fell under their immediate obſervation, have deſcribed as a maſs of barren and ungenial ſoil, is evidently not deficient in the moſt pictureſque beauties of rural nature. But I haſten from general to particular deſcription.

March 6. From Upſala I paſſed a tract of country, more open and fertile than I had hitherto obſerved in Sweden, to Endkioping, a ſmall town, ſituated upon a river cloſe to an inlet of the lake Mæler, and conſiſting chiefly of wooden houſes painted for the moſt part red. It ſtands upon a ridge of ground compoſed of ſand and gravel, which once formed the ſhore of the lake. Beyond it is a ſmall plain, formerly covered with water, in which I obſerved many ſcattered fragments of granite. The two next poſts brought me, at the end of 24 miles, to Weſteros, ſituated likewiſe upon a ſmall river cloſe to the Mæler.

Weſteros, or Weſtern Aroſia, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from Oſtra Aros, or Eaſtern Aroſia, the antient name of Upſala, is eſteemed, by the native writers, a place of very high antiquity.

antiquity. They derive its appellation by a fanciful etymology from the river Ar, and Os, a mouth; and ſuppoſe it to be alluded to by Tacitus *, and by Jornandes the Gothic hiſtorian. But without dwelling upon ſuch etymological inquiries, which are apt to reſt upon ſlender foundations, we may obſerve, that the name occurs in the earlieſt times of Swediſh hiſtory. Weſteros carries on a conſiderable commerce with Stockholm acroſs the lake Mæler; particularly in copper and iron from the neighbouring mines, which abound in the province of Weſtmanland. It is a large ſtraggling town, compoſed of wooden houſes, and contains the ruins of an ancient palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden. It is a biſhop's ſee; and the cathedral, which is built with brick, is celebrated for the tower, eſteemed the higheſt in the kingdom: the lower part of this tower is ſquare, and ſupports an octagon ſpire tapering gradually like a pyramid, and covered with copper.

Within the cathedral is the tomb of Eric XIV. whom I have before had occaſion to mention, and whoſe final cataſtrophe I

* Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 193.

ſhall

ſhall now relate. We may pity the unfortunate monarch who was ſubject to ſuch dreadful fits of inſanity as may account, in ſome degree, for his actions; yet we cannot, at the ſame time, but confeſs, that he was unworthy to reign. The prelude to his depoſition was the releaſe of his brother John * from the caſtle of Gripſholm, where he had been confined by Eric during the ſpace of four years. His dethronement, which he had merited by the moſt flagrant enormities, was haſtened by his imprudence in publicly eſpouſing Catharine, a woman of the loweſt extraction, who had formerly been his miſtreſs; and by what he conſidered as the moſt fortunate circumſtance of his life, the birth of a ſon, whom he had compelled his brothers to acknowledge as the heir-apparent to the throne. This event excluding his brothers, John and Charles, from all hopes of the ſucceſſion, diſpoſed them to avail themſelves of the general diſcontents; which the capricious conduct of

* John had been juſtly impriſoned for marrying the daughter of Sigiſmond king of Poland in oppoſition to Eric; and for maintaining a ſecret correſpondence with Sigiſmond had been condemned to death by the ſtates, but was pardoned by the king.

Eric,

to the rules of logic; an extraordinary mode of conſolation to a depoſed ſovereign.

In the beginning of 1569 Eric was ſummoned before the ſtates aſſembled at Stockholm; and, like Charles I. of England, brought to a trial before his ſubjects. His two brothers being preſent, the articles of accuſation were read; when Eric, whoſe capacity, naturally good, was quickened by his misfortunes, anſwered the ſeveral charges with a warmth of eloquence and ſubtlety of argument which aſtoniſhed his accuſers. In the heat of diſpute, John reproached him with his inſanity: "I never was inſane but once;" the depoſed monarch inſtantly replied, "and that was "when I releaſed you from priſon." At the concluſion of this trial he was declared to have forfeited the crown by his miſconduct and tyranny; and, being reconducted to priſon, underwent an additional load of calamities. He not only wanted occaſionally

"teſſon favoured the enemies of the kingdom; therefore "he is an enemy of this kingdom. John is my ſubject, as "well according to all the laws, as from his oath of alle-"giance; therefore he cannot judge me who am his king, "becauſe I enjoy the Swediſh law." Hiſt. de Eric XIV. p. 210.

common

common neceſſaries; but, what afflicted him moſt ſtrongly, he was deprived even of his books, which had hitherto afforded him ſome amuſement, and of the ſociety of his wife and children. In vain he wrote repeated letters to his brother, requeſting ſome alleviation of his diſtreſs; but not the ſlighteſt notice was paid to theſe applications. However tyrannical we may eſteem his conduct while he ſat upon the throne, yet ſuch unnatural cruelties, ſo wantonly inflicted without the leaſt neceſſity, reflect the utmoſt diſgrace upon the memory of his brother; and we almoſt loſe our abhorrence of Eric's former actions in our ſenſe of his calamitous ſituation. The people, at length ſympathizing with the diſtreſs of their depoſed ſovereign, began to condemn the extreme rigour of his treatment; and a ſtrong party even meditated a revolt. Upon its diſcovery and ſuppreſſion, he was transferred to Abo in Finland, where he underwent a ſtill ſeverer confinement. In 1570 he was impriſoned at Caſtleholm, in the iſle of Aland, in a dungeon, which I have deſcribed in a former chapter; and in the autumn of the ſame year was removed to the caſtle of Gripſholm. Here his ſorrows were for a while

alleviated by the preſence of his beloved Catharine: but he was again deprived of this comfort in 1573, upon being transferred to Weſteros. In a letter to her, he complains bitterly of his ſeparation, and aſſures her of his unalterable attachment. He laments the miſeries of his own impriſonment; acquaints her that he had been confined in a dark dungeon for ſeven months, and was but juſt removed to a more comfortable apartment. "God forbid," he adds, "wherever you are, "that you and your children ſhould experience "any ſimilar ſeverity: forget not your beloved "Eric; and break not the marriage vow, to "which I have always adhered with ſuch in-"violable conſtancy." From Weſteros he was ſent the following year to Orebyhus, near Wendel, in the province of Upland, where he terminated his miſerable exiſtence. Theſe frequent changes in the places of his impriſonment, were occaſioned by the apprehenſions of John; who perceived that the nation began to compaſſionate his brother's wretched ſituation, and that many attempts had been actually made to reſtore him to liberty. In conſequence of theſe alarms, John, in 1569, ſecretly laid before the ſenate the neceſſity of

haſtening

haſtening Eric's death; but though he found no difficulty in obtaining their conſent to that infamous propoſal, yet he deferred the execution. At length, as Eric had once nearly eſcaped from priſon, and as the number of his partizans encreaſed; he reſolved to inflict the ſentence of death which had been agreed to by the ſenate. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1577, he diſpatched his ſecretary to Oreby with a doſe of poiſon, and with directions in what manner to proceed. If Eric ſhould obſtinately refuſe to ſwallow the draught, the keeper was ordered to open his veins, or to ſtrangle him under a mattreſs. There was, however, no occaſion for proceeding to force: the wretched ſufferer received the news of his approaching fate without the leaſt emotion; and prepared for it with the utmoſt reſignation. On the 22d of February he partook of the ſacrament with the moſt fervent devotion; and on the 26th at noon, having ſwallowed the poiſon in a plate of ſoup, expired, in the ninth year of his impriſonment, and in the 45th of his age *. His body was

* The circumſtances of Eric's depoſition and impriſonment are principally ſelected from the Hiſtoire d'Eric XIV. by Celſius, Lib. XI. and XII.; and Dahlin's Geſchichte Von Sweden, Vol. III. p. 538 to p. 551; and Vol. IV. p. 66 to 68.

tranſported to Weſteros, and interred in the cathedral, where the biſhop of that ſee preached a funeral ſermon from this remarkable text, "The kingdom is turned about and become "my brother's; for it was his from the Lord." His tomb is a raiſed monument of plain ſtone. Upon the walls of the chapel in which it ſtands are his arms: the three crowns as king of Sweden; the lion as duke of Finland; and the wheat-ſheaf, the device of the Vaſa family. The whole inſcription is E. R. or *Eric Rex*, in large characters, with a crown painted over each letter; and underneath the Latin text of the funeral ſermon preached at his interment, *Tranſlatum eſt regnum*, &c.

Eric, during the firſt part of his confinement, kept a journal of the occurrences which happened to him in priſon; from which it appears, that his wife was the conſtant ſubject of his thoughts. During her abſence, writing to her was his almoſt daily occupation; and his letters breathe the moſt affectionate and warmeſt attachment. He ſoothed many hours of his impriſonment by muſic, in which he excelled both as a performer and compoſer. His books, when he was indulged in the uſe of them, afforded a pleaſing reſource: and he filled the margins with numerous remarks.

He

He tranſlated into his native tongue, the hiſtory of the Swediſh kings, from the original of John Magnus; to which he added ſome Latin verſes upon the character of each ſovereign. He compoſed two penitential pſalms, which are inſerted in the Swediſh Pſalter. His memorial upon the cauſes of the war between himſelf and Frederic king of Denmark, his aſtronomical, or rather aſtrological obſervations, his treatiſe upon the art of war, all written in the Latin language, prove his capacity and erudition.

Catharine, his wife, ſurvived him. She was the daughter of a peaſant; and, while an infant, being obſerved by Eric, he was ſo ſtruck with her beauty, that he paid great attention to her education, and placed her in the court of his ſiſter Elizabeth. When ſhe arrived at years of maturity ſhe became his miſtreſs; and acquired, in a ſhort ſpace of time, an extraordinary aſcendency over his capricious diſpoſition: an aſcendency derived from the graces of her perſon and the endowments of her mind; but, according to the prevailing notions of the age, imputed to philters and love potions. His attachment increaſing, inſtead of diminiſhing, by poſſeſſion,

Eric (fruſtrated in his hopes of marrying ſeveral foreign princeſſes) at length eſpouſed her, after ſhe had borne to him a natural ſon. During his confinement, Catharine gratefully returned his affection with equal eſteem and tenderneſs; and afforded to her unfortunate lord much conſolation in his miſery. She ſurvived her huſband many years; and ſuch was her prudent deportment, that ſhe conciliated the favour of John and Sigiſmond, from whom ſhe obtained a conſiderable revenue; and was permitted to paſs the remainder of her life in Finland in perfect tranquillity: ſhe died at Liuxdal, in 1612, and was buried in the cathedral of Abo *.

Eric left two natural daughters by Agda, daughter of a rich merchant of Stockholm, Virginia and Conſtantia, both married in Sweden; and by Catharine four children, of whom only Guſtavus and Sigrida ſurvived their father: Sigrida eſpouſed count Tott, and her deſcendants ſtill ſurvived in that illuſtrious branch.

Guſtavus, born in 1568, and declared ſucceſſor to the Swediſh crown, was, upon

* See p. 15.

his

his father's depoſition, impriſoned at Stockholm; and when Eric was removed to Abo, was encloſed in a ſack and delivered to an officer belonging to the court, who had orders to put him to death, and to bury him at the extremity of the town. As the officer was proceeding, before day-break, to carry his barbarous command into execution, he was obſerved by a Swediſh nobleman, who opened the ſack, and diſcovering the infant, reſcued him from immediate deſtruction. Guſtavus, thus preſerved, was conveyed from Sweden by the friends of Eric. He received a wandering education *, in the Jeſuits convent of Braunſberg, at Thorn in Poliſh Pruſſia, and at Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. In theſe different ſeminaries he made a conſiderable progreſs in literature; and, in particular, diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his proficiency in chymiſtry, that he was called the ſecond Paracelſus †. He was no leſs remarkable for his knowledge of languages; ſpeaking with fluency, beſide his native tongue, French, Italian, German, Poliſh, Ruſſian, and Latin.

* Meſſ. Scond. Illuſ. Lib. VII. p. 10. Dahlin, IV. p. 158.

† Dahlin, IV. p. 157.

He was indeed ſo zealous in the proſecution of his ſtudies, that, on account of his indigent circumſtances, after attending the ſchools by day, he uſed in the evening to ply at the inns in the loweſt capacity, in order to procure a ſcanty ſubſiſtence. His literary acquiſitions, however, did not advance his fortune; for he paſſed a wandering life in the greateſt miſery; was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that he frequently had recourſe to charity; and, at other times, earned his livelihood by the meaneſt occupations *.

His diſtreſs was ſo great, that he even ventured to implore the aſſiſtance of his couſin Sigiſmond, king of Poland and Sweden, who perſuaded him to enter into the church, and conferred on him an abbey, from the revenues whereof he ſubſiſted for ſome time at Thorn. Induced, however, to quit Poland, from a ſuſ-

* Meſſenius ſays, Tom. VII. p. 10. "Et quamvis ob "nimiam puſillanimitatem, nec ſceptro, nec pedo eſſet "ille idoneus tamen mediocres in litteris fecit progreſſus, "libris annis aliquot indefeſſus in tanta rerum omnium "penuria adhærens, ut interdiu ſcholas frequentaret, noctu "autem in publicis Turoniæ Vilnæque diverſoriis, ſuam "hoſpitibus operam in mundandis ocreis, phaleris, et cu-"randis equis, locando tenuem victum amictumque ſibi "compararet."

picion

picion of Sigiſmond, he accepted the preſſing invitations of the tzar Boris Godunof, who offered his daughter Irene in marriage, and his aſſiſtance to aſcend the throne of Sweden. Guſtavus, allured by theſe promiſes, repaired in 1599 to Moſcow, where he was received with thoſe honours, which, according to the Ruſſian ceremonial, were only paid to ſovereign princes. But the tzar ſoon withdrew his friendſhip; broke off the intended alliance; and, in 1601, removed Guſtavus to Uglitz. It is uncertain whether this change in the tzar's ſentiments was occaſioned by the refuſal of the Swediſh prince to embrace the Greek religion; by his unwillingneſs to enter into hoſtilities againſt Sweden, and to diſmember Eſthonia and Finland in favour of Ruſſia; whether becauſe he appeared a prince of no ſpirit, and too puſillanimous * to proſecute any enterprize with vigour; or becauſe

* Meſſenius, when praiſing his piety and charitable diſpoſition, adds, "Tantaque fuerit plenus commiſeratione, "ut nè paſſeris quidem, multò minus hominis, intueri "potuerit internecionem. Hincque plus æquo fuerit pu-"ſillanimis, quæ ſubmiſſio mentis, non rarò illius poſuit "fortunæ obſtaculum." Scond. Illuſt. Tom. VIII. p. 100.

the

the contract of marriage between John prince of Denmark and the princeſs Irene, made his removal from Moſcow neceſſary. He reſided at Uglitz * until the acceſſion of Demetrius, who impriſoned him at Yaroſlaf for favouring Charles IX. king of Sweden. He was again releaſed by Vaſſili Shuiſki, upon the aſſaſſination of Demetrius, in May 1606, and permitted to reſide at Kaſkin, where he ex-

* The Swediſh hiſtorians aſſert, that Guſtavus was ſo attached to his native country, that no motives could induce him to enter into hoſtilities againſt it, and that this was the ſole cauſe of his removal. The Ruſſians, on the contrary, affirm, that, Boris, finding him a prince without ſpirit and vigour, readily accepted the offer of the prince of Denmark to marry Irene; and therefore ſent Guſtavus to Uglitz. The Ruſſian and Swediſh hiſtorians differ alſo about his ſituation. The former ſay, that Uglitz was granted to him as a fief, and that he reſided there in great ſtate: the latter, that he was treated as a priſoner. Perhaps both are in the right. He might reſide in ſtate, and yet be watched as a kind of ſtate priſoner. As a confirmation of this account of the caſe, Margaret, who was at Moſcow at the time, ſays, "that he was ſent "in diſgrace to Uglitz; but had a revenue aſſigned to him "of £. 800 per annum." Etat de la Ruſſ. p. 96. For the hiſtory of this Guſtavus, ſee Dahlin, Vol. IV. paſſim. Meſſ. Scond. III. paſſim. Celſius Hiſt. d'Eric XIV. p. 245 and 274. Muller S. R. G. V. p. 95 to 101, and 295.

pired

pired in the following year; but whether by poiſon, or by a natural death, is not aſcertained.

March 7. Between Weſteros and Arboga I changed horſes at the ſmall village of Kungſær; where, being tempted by the beauty of the ſituation, I roved about the environs, and upon the banks of the Mæler. This lake is extremely beautiful; it contains ſeveral iſlands rich in wood paſture; its ſhores are hilly, feathered with trees, and diverſified with gentlemen's ſeats and farm-houſes. The lake, at leaſt that part which I ſaw, was ſtill covered with ice, but no longer capable of bearing carriages. It is uſually frozen during a few weeks in winter; and opens an eaſy communication, by means of ſledges, between theſe parts and Stockholm.

Kungſær ſtands upon the mouth of the ſmall river Ulviſon, which flows into the weſtern extremity of the Mæler: this ſtream, which comes from Arboga, helps to form the communication between the lakes Mæler and Hielmar, by its junction with the canal of Arboga. Near Kungſær there is an old wooden building, or kind of palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden, with a menage

menage and ſtables for the royal ſtud. From Kungſær ſtretches, about nine miles, almoſt as far as Arboga, a long narrow plain of rich paſture, which belongs to the king: it is watered by the Ulviſon, and ſkirted with gently riſing hills tufted with wood; produces great quantities of fine hay; and feeds a large number of cattle. I paſſed, in ſight of this ſmall plain, which is ſcarcely more than half a mile in breadth, through an undulating country; and arrived at the canal of Arboga, which I croſſed over a draw-bridge. The following inſcription informed me that the ſluice was begun by Charles XI. and finiſhed under the reign of his ſon Charles XII.

" Hoc aquarum repagulum juſſu Auguſtiſ-
" ſimi quondam Suecorum Regis Caroli XI.
" nunc in cœlis beati anno MDCXCI. in-
" choatum, ultimam manum ſceptra gerente
" Suevica Auguſtiſſimo Carolo XII. feliciter
" recepit MDCIC." This canal will be more properly deſcribed in this chapter on the inland navigation of Sweden.

Finding little worthy of notice in Arboga, I haſtened to Orebro, the capital of Nerike, where I paſſed the night: it ſtands near the weſtern

weſtern extremity of the lake Hielmar; and is the largeſt town which I viſited ſince I quitted Stockholm. Upon a ſmall iſland in the middle of the town, formed by two branches of the Swart, ſtands the caſtle, formerly a royal reſidence: it is an old ſquare building of brick and ſtone white-waſhed, and is appropriated to the governor of the province. The inhabitants of Orebro ſend iron, vitriol, and red paint to Stockholm; and the trade which they carry on with that capital acroſs the Hielmar and Mæler, by means of the canal of Arboga, is very conſiderable. The town poſſeſſes manufactures of fire-arms, cloth, and tapeſtry. Upon quitting Orebro, I traverſed that part of the province of Nerike, which lies between the lakes Hielmar and Wenner; a fertile diſtrict, abounding in corn, paſture, and foreſt. Towards the cloſe of the day, I entered the province of Weſt Gothland; and paſſed the night in a peaſant's cottage at Hofva, a ſmall place, not far diſtant from the lake Skager.

March 9. About noon I arrived at Marieſtadt, a town built by Charles IX. ſituated upon the Tidla, a ſmall rivulet, and the lake Wenner. A new priſon of brick, ſtuccoed white,

white, makes a finer appearance than any of the other houſes, which are moſtly built with wood, and painted of a red colour. From Marieſtadt I continued my route, for ſome time, at a ſmall diſtance from the Wenner, the largeſt lake in Sweden, being nearly ninety miles in length, and forty in breadth. Its ſhores in this part are low and level, ſo that the view over the ſurface of the water appears boundleſs like a ſea. I paſſed through Lidkioping, the inhabitants whereof carry on a conſiderable inland trade acroſs the Wenner, and down the river Gotha to Gotheborg. I ſtopped the night at the ſmall village of Malby; and arrived the next morning at Trolhætta, through an exceedingly dreary country, conſiſting chiefly of barren heaths, with ridges of rock almoſt naked, which exhibited few marks of vegetation. This village, containing ſcarcely a dozen houſes, is ſituated cloſe to the cataracts of the river Gotha; and is well known, on account of its ſtupendous works, with a view to open a paſſage for veſſels, by means of a navigable cut, called, from this place, the Canal of Trolhætta.

This

This canal forms part of a plan, long projected by the Swedes, to unite the Baltic and the German Ocean by an inland navigation; as well for the purpoſe of improving the interior trade of the provinces, as of preventing the interruption of their foreign commerce, which is always the conſequence of a war with Denmark. For as all veſſels ſailing out of the Baltic muſt neceſſarily paſs through the Sound, they are expoſed to the Daniſh privateers, who ſhelter themſelves under the batteries of Elſinoor, which command the paſſage of that ſtrait, unleſs a Swediſh fleet ſhould ride miſtreſs of the Gulf.

Guſtavus Vaſa was the firſt ſovereign who ſaw the utility of ſuch an inland navigation, when he made Lodeſe (now Gotheborg) a ſtaple town of trade, that the merchant ſhips coming to Sweden might not be obliged to ſail through the Sound; and he conceived hopes, that, in ſome future period, the merchandize might be tranſported from thence to Stockholm, by means of the Wenner, Hielmar, and Mæler, when the rivers and lakes uniting with them ſhould be rendered navigable *. Eric XIV. deſirous to carry his

* Dahlin, vol. III. p. 115.

father's

father's deſigns into execution, gave orders for ſurveying the waters communicating with theſe lakes; and directed plans to be formed for joining them by artificial canals *. But the execution of his great ſchemes was fruſtrated by the turbulence and misfortunes of his reign.

Several ſucceeding ſovereigns had this great object in view. Charles IX. promoted it by the Carliſgraf canal; and Charles XI. by that of Arboga. The undertaking, however, of forming a water communication acroſs the whole country, was always conſidered as a work of extreme difficulty. Motraye ſays, that Guſtavus Adolphus was inclined to encourage the deſign; but that no perſon could be found in Sweden bold enough to engage in the enterprize: he adds, that Charles XI. ſent for ſome Dutch engineers, who, after they had meaſured the fall of the waters between the Wenner and the Hielmar, declared it to be impracticable. Difficulties, however inſurmountable as they might appear to perſons of more ſober underſtanding, were no barrier to the genius of Charles XII. The ſame

* Hiſt. d'Eric XIV.

author informs us, that the celebrated engineer, Polhem, laid before that king a propoſal for rendering the cataracts of Trolhætta navigable; and for opening a communication, not only between Gotheborg and Stockholm, but alſo with the Wenner, the Vetter, and Nordkioping, ſufficient for the paſſage of very large veſſels *. Polhem's plan was immediately approved, and begun by Charles, fond of extraordinary projects; and, though interrupted for ſome time by the king's death, was again revived with freſh vigour under the late ſovereign Adolphus Frederic.

This plan may be divided into three principal parts. 1. The junction of the Mæler and the Hielmar. 2. Of the Hielmar with the Wenner. 3. Of the Wenner with the German Ocean.

1. Of the junction of the Mæler with the Hielmar. Theſe two lakes are united by the ſmall river Ulviſon, and the canal of Arboga. The former riſes to the weſt of Arboga, flows through the town, and falls into the Mæler at Kungſær. The canal of Arboga is cut from the Hielmar, and continued to the Ulviſon

* Voyages de Motraye, vol. II. p. 282. 306.

about half a mile to the eaſt of the town. It was begun in the reign of Chriſtina; but being only calculated for ſmall veſſels, was widened and deepened by order of Charles XI. and completed under his ſucceſſor Charles XII. It belonged to the crown until 1769; at which period it had been ſo much neglected as to be ſcarcely of any uſe: but a company of ſeven merchants of Orebro undertook to cleanſe and repair it at their own expence, upon condition of receiving the toll of all veſſels which ſhould paſs through it. The canal is, excepting in a few parts, ſufficiently broad to receive two barks a-breaſt: its loweſt depth is 8 feet *. It is chiefly ſupplied with water from the lake Hielmar, the ſurface of which is 80 feet perpendicular higher than its level. It conſiſts of eight ſluices. The veſſels it admits are the ſame which navigate the lakes; they are decked and ſingle maſted; 76 feet long; about 43 tons burden; and draw between ſix and ſeven feet of water.

2. In order to join the Hielmar and Wen-

* The foot uſed in this chapter is the Swediſh, which differs but little from the Engliſh. The proportion of the Engliſh being to that of the Swediſh as 1027 to 1000.

ner,

ner, it was propoſed to open the navigation of the Swart-an, which falls into the weſtern extremity of the Hielmar at Orebro; to make a cut from that river to the lake Morken; from thence by the Letan to the Skager; and from the Skager by the Gullſpang to the Wenner. But as the above-mentioned rivers are for the moſt part ſo ſhallow and ſtony, that it would be extremely difficult and expenſive to render them navigable; and as the faint attempts hitherto made upon the Gullſpang have all failed of ſucceſs; it has been propoſed to cut a canal directly from the lake Morken to Chriſtinehamn, which is ſituated upon the eaſtern ſhore of the Wenner. But as no part of this project had been as yet taken in hand, and the whole would be attended with great difficulties; there is little proſpect that this branch of the great undertaking, the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, will ever be completed *.

* From the almoſt inſuperable difficulties attending the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, a plan was projected of forming an inland navigation from the eaſtern coaſt of Sweden ſouth of the Mæler, by means of the Wetter to the Wenner; and in 1774 a map was publiſhed for the purpoſe of proving the ſcheme to be practicable.

3. The junction of the Wenner with the German Ocean comes next into conſideration: and this might be accompliſhed by the river Gotha, which iſſues from the ſouthern extremity of the lake near Wennerſborg, and, after a courſe of ſeventy miles, falls into the ſea near Gotheborg; provided that river could be made navigable throughout its whole courſe. But as, on account of ſhoals and cataracts, its ſtream is greatly impeded, the communication has been attempted by the Carliſgraf canal, the canal of Trolhætta, and the ſluices of Akerſtræm and Edet, which, therefore, I ſhall ſeparately deſcribe.

The channel of the river Gotha not being open and free upon its firſt iſſuing from the Wenner, a cut, from a bay of that lake to the river, was begun under Charles IX. but was not entirely completed before the reign of Charles XII. Polhem, whom I have already mentioned, erected, by order of that monarch, a ſluice; which, not being conſtructed upon a firm foundation, was ſcarcely finiſhed before it was undermined, and carried away by the water. From that time the Carliſgraf canal remained without a ſluice, and conſequently without a veſſel paſſing it, until the

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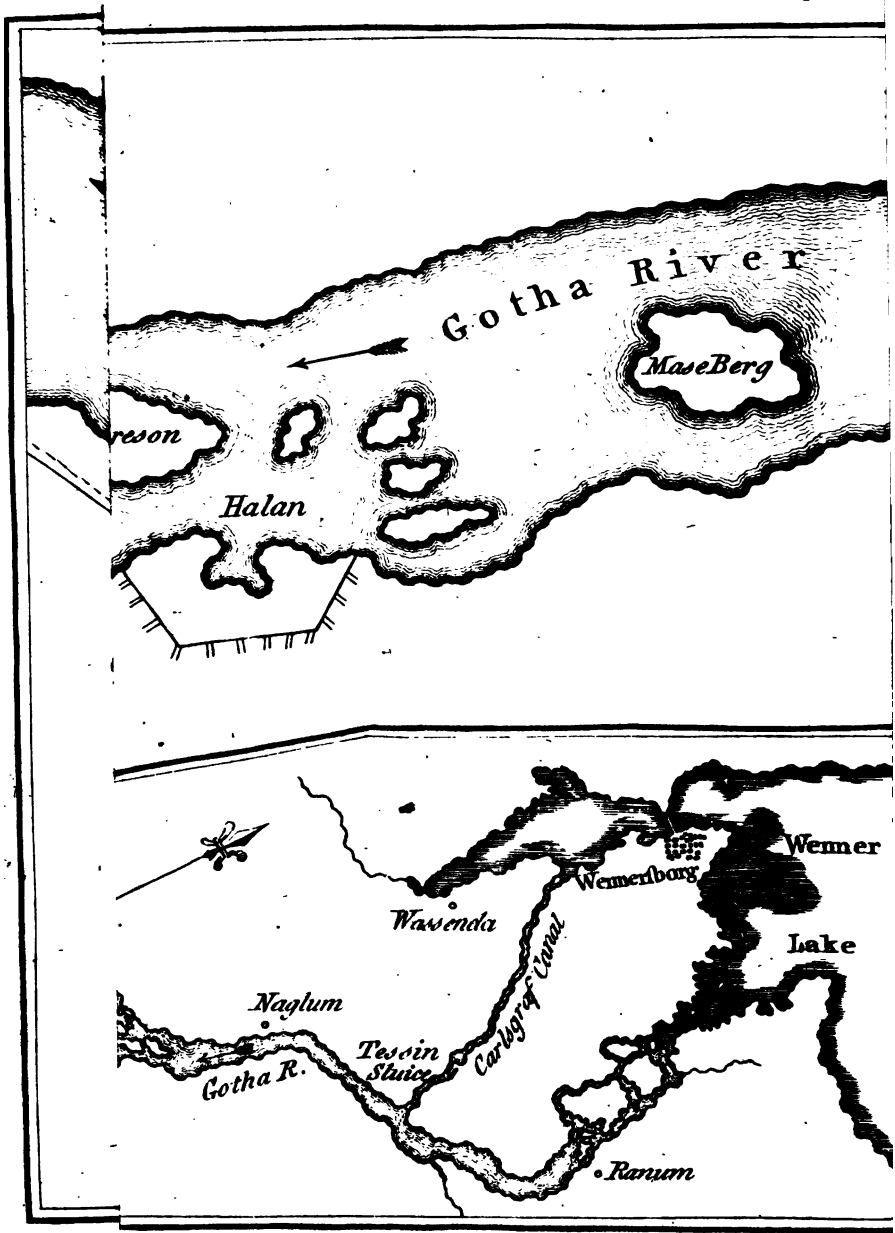

T. Kitchin Senr. Scu

the reign of Adolphus Frederic. In 1754 a new ſluice was finiſhed, which received the appellation of Teſſin, in honour of the prime miniſter of that name. It was formed by a ſubterraneous paſſage, 40 feet long, 18 broad, and 12 high. But theſe dimenſions were too ſmall for the admiſſion of veſſels of more than 40 tons burden; and it frequently happened that even theſe could not paſs whenever there was either too much or too little water. In relief of theſe difficulties another ſluice, called, in honour of the preſent king, the ſluice of Guſtavus, was completed in 1768. This ſuperb work is a cut of 400 feet (half of which was perforated through the ſolid rock), and conſiſts of two locks, each 200 feet in length, and 36 in breadth: the ſides are ſtrongly faced with brick and ſtone. The greateſt depth of water is 13, the loweſt 6 feet. The uſual veſſels which navigate this canal are of 80 tons burden; but when the water is high, larger may paſs: in 1777 one of 133 tons worked its way through.

From the end of this canal to the village of Trolhætta, which includes a ſpace of about five miles, the navigation of the river is uninterrupted: it flows in a gentle current;

varies in its breadth from 300 yards to a mile; and is, in a few parts, prettily ſprinkled with iſlands, ſome whereof are barren rock, others tufted with wood and covered with arable ſoil. Near Trolhætta two ridges of mountains, which on each ſide run at a ſmall diſtance from the river, approach its banks, and confine its ſtream in a narrow channel. In this ſpot it is about 400 feet in breadth, as ſmooth as a lake, and without any viſible ſtream: a fine contraſt to the roaring of the torrent below. This ſmoothneſs of the water continues till it burſts at once into the cataracts of Trolhætta, called the Gulfs of Hell, which render all farther navigation impoſſible. The bed of the river is ſolid rock; the banks are perpendicular; and, at the beginning of the fall, ſeveral granite iſlands, thinly ſtrewed with underwood, junipers, and ſtubbed pines, riſe in the midſt of the ſtream, forming ſmall ſtraits, down which the water daſhes with increaſing impetuoſity.

From the firſt opening of the fall to the part where the river again becomes navigable, is about two miles; but it does not roll through the whole of this ſpace in one uniform ſheet of water, or with equal rage and violence.

It

It is divided into four principal cataracts, each whereof is ſeparated by whirlpools and eddies; forming, during the whole way, the moſt awful ſcenes, ever varying, and too ſublime to be accurately deſcribed. The perpendicular height of all the falls, conſidered as one, is about 100 feet. From this deſcription the reader will readily conceive the extreme difficulty of rendering theſe cataracts navigable; and yet it was even through the midſt of them that the daring projector attempted to form a canal, by the following works, which are marked in the annexed plan.

Juſt above the firſt cataract, called Praſtenkeſdet Fall, ſeveral dams were conſtructed, which turned the ſtream, and left the main bed of the river quite dry. In this part ſome rocky iſlands were cut through, or blown up; the bed was rendered level, and the cataract nearly turned into ſtill water. To continue the navigation, an iſland of red granite, called Malg, which riſes in the midſt of the great cataract, was divided; and a canal formed through it of 340 feet in length, including a ſluice of 30: the depth of the fall, and, of courſe, the depth of the perforated rock, is 23½ feet; the breadth 18. This is called

Ekerbrad ſluice, and was deſigned to conſiſt of two locks. At a ſmall diſtance another canal was formed on the ſide of the ſecond great cataract, through a kind of promontory which projects into the ſtream; the ſolid granite was hollowed 860 feet in length, 56½ in depth, and 18 in breadth. This ſluice, called Polhem's ſluice, was to conſiſt of three locks, by which veſſels were to be let down a fall of 56 ½ feet. At the diſtance of 2920 feet, a third cut was made cloſe to Flateberg's fall, terminating in the ſluice of Elvius, the laſt of this projected plan. The length of the cut is 28 feet; the breadth 18; and the depth or height of the fall 34½. In order to form ſome idea in what manner the navigation was to be continued from the ſluice of Polhem to that of Elvius, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort delineation of the intervening ſpace.

A little below the ſluice of Polhem the river daſhes through a narrow paſs called Stampſtræm; from thence it gradually widens into a kind of bay, named Hoyon's Warp: it is again cramped into a narrow channel by the nearer approach of the rocks on each ſide, and forms a cataract, called Helvert's Fall; at the extremity of which it expands itſelf into a ſmall

a ſmall baſon, called Oli-Halla; and then again precipitates itſelf at Flateberg's Fall; from whence it becomes navigable. Inſtead of continuing any works through the cataracts, or by the ſide of the river, the communication between the ſluices of Polhem and Elvius was attempted in the following manner. A dyke of ſtone was conſtructed acroſs the river juſt below Flateberg's Fall and the ſluice of Elvius, with a view of raiſing the water 34 feet and ¼, turning its courſe through the ſluice of Elvius, and forming a level with the bottom of that of Polhem. This chimerical project, which ſeems rather too ridiculous to have been ſeriouſly entertained, was however attempted. The king himſelf viſited the work; and all Sweden was in eager expectation, that their favourite national hopes would at length be realized. The dyke was built; the river had riſen 12 feet of the 34; when, in an inſtant, the weight of waters burſt the barrier, too feeble to reſtrain them; and ſwept away, in one moment, the labours and expence of ſeveral years *. Large ſubſidies

* The immenſity of the expence will be beſt conceived by conſidering that all the cuts were made through the ſolid granite, the hardeſt of all ſtones.

had

had been annually raiſed for the proſecution of the work; and the national bank had readily advanced ſtill greater loans; the ſum total whereof has never been divulged. The failure of the project, after ſuch immenſe labour and enormous expence, occaſioned great diſcontents among the people; many of whom to this day believe, though there ſeems no foundation for the ſuppoſition, that the projectors, bribed by the Danes, purpoſely proceeded upon a plan which they knew could not ſucceed. But thus much is evident, that, throughout the whole undertaking, the works, ſtupendous in themſelves, were conducted without reaſonable care and attention; for after all, the cuts, which had been excavated with ſuch difficulty, being only 18 feet in breadth, would have been too narrow to have admitted veſſels of ſuch ſize and burden as uſually navigate the Wenner. In a word, ſeveral ill-judged meaſures ſeem to have been taken; otherwiſe, although there were many natural obſtructions to the ſucceſs of the enterprize, yet greater obſtacles have been ſurmounted. But Polhem was not a Brindley.

In conſequence of this failure, all the works and

and ſluices hitherto raiſed were neglected, as totally uſeleſs, and a new plan for the canal of Trolhætta has been projected; according to which, inſtead of being carried, as before, along the channel of the river, it is to be cut through the ſolid rock that forms its banks. The plan of this laſt project is laid down in the annexed engraving. The length is to be 4700 feet, the breadth 36, and the depth in ſome parts above 50. It is to conſiſt of nine ſluices; and when we reflect that the whole of this cut muſt be hollowed through the red granite, it is evident that it will be attended with as many, if not more difficulties, than were experienced in the former attempt. It muſt by no means, however, be condemned as impracticable. The canal of the duke of Bridgewater, that of Languedoc, and the road through the mountain Gemmi in Switzerland, prove that ſcarcely any thing is impoſſible to human induſtry.

The chief queſtion, in this reſpect, ſeems to be; whether the enormous expence attending the execution of the work would be compenſated by the advantages reſulting from its completion. And here, if we merely take into conſideration the navigation from the

Wenner

Wenner to Gotheborg, we may venture to decide in the negative. But if we preſume, that at any future period the communication ſhould be formed from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Wenner; as in that caſe the cataracts of Trolhætta would be the only remaining interruption to the inland navigation from the eaſtern to the weſtern coaſt of Sweden, the accompliſhment of this canal could not ſurely be obtained at too dear a rate.

His preſent majeſty, who, ſoon after his acceſſion, viſited theſe works at Trolhætta, wiſely ordered them for the preſent to be ſuſpended; but that the ſluices of Guſtavus and Aker ſhould be finiſhed without delay. Meanwhile, in order to facilitate the tranſport of the merchandize from the diſtricts bordering upon the Wenner to Gotheborg, a wooden road has been conſtructed on the ſide of the river, from the beginning to the end of the cataracts. It is ſupported upon poſts over the rocks, which, from their irregularity and roughneſs, would have been almoſt impaſſable for horſes.

About a mile below the cataracts, the courſe of the Gotha is again interrupted by a fall, called Akerſtræm: there a canal has been

made through a rock which projected into the river; the length of it is 182 feet, including the ſluice; depth 26; and breadth 36. This cut was begun in 1774; it was far advanced when I ſaw it, and, it was expected, would be opened in 1781.

From Akerſtræm the river is clear to Gotheborg, excepting at Edet, where its paſſage is ſtopped by a bed of rocks riſing in the midſt of the ſtream. On one ſide of theſe rocks another cut has been made, 660 feet in length; 20 in depth, but only 18 in breadth. The work is ill executed; and, when I was there, was in bad order. A petition had been preſented to the king, that it might be repaired and improved to the ſame breadth as Akerſluice; and there was no doubt of its being effected.

The iron and other merchandize, is now tranſported acroſs the lake to Wennerſborg; and from thence through the Carlſgraf canal, and down the river Gotha to Trolhætta. Upon coming to the cataracts, the goods are unloaded, and carried over the wooden road about two miles to the end of the falls. There they are again embarked, and paſſing through the Akerſtræm and Edet ſluices, upon a ſuppoſition

CHAP. X.

Gotheborg.—*Its trade.*—East India *Company.*—*Herring Fiſhery.*—*General remarks on the commerce of* Sweden.—*Journey from* Gotheborg *to* Carliſcrona.—*Cottages, food, manners, &c. of the peaſants.*

THE ſcenery of the country from Trolhætta to Gotheborg is wild and romantic beyond deſcription. Innumerable ridges of barren rocks ſtretch in all directions; and between them lie the moſt fertile plains, which ſeldom exceed a mile in breadth, watered by the river Gotha: The mountains, which are compoſed of granite, are entirely deſtitute of trees, and many of them ſcarcely exhibit the ſmalleſt appearance of vegetation. In this part of Sweden I obſerved none of thoſe detached fragments of granite, which ſo abundantly overſpread as well many of its inland provinces, as the coaſt bordering on the Gulf of Bothnia.

In moſt places the river flows with a gentle current, and in a narrow channel; and is in ſome

ſome parts navigable only for ſmall craft of about 20 tons burden. About ten miles from Gotheborg it divides itſelf into three branches; two of which unite again after having encircled a ſmall rocky iſland, upon the top of which ſtands the fort of Bohus; a pictureſque object, much celebrated in the early hiſtory of Sweden, and at that time eſteemed impregnable. The ſtream formed by the union of theſe two branches is called the Northern River, and falls into the ſea after a courſe of about ten miles. The third branch, which I followed to Gotheborg, retains its original name of Gotha: the ſpace included between the Northern River and the Gotha is named the iſland of Hiſingen.

Gotheborg, which is diſtinguiſhed by a commodious port, ſtands near the ſite of an ancient town, named Lodeſe, that was built by Guſtavus Vaſa; and being endowed with conſiderable privileges, ſoon became the great emporium for the trade of the weſtern provinces. Charles IX. when duke of Gothland, having, in 1604, laid the foundations of a new town in the iſland of Hiſingen at no great diſtance from Lodeſe, called it Gotheborg, in honour of his duchy. Upon his

acceſſion to the throne, he erected in his new town a trading company; drew thither many foreigners, particularly the Dutch, to whom he allowed an exemption from all duties of export and import during twenty years; a corps of Engliſh and Scotch troops, under the command of William Stewart; and granted to the Calviniſts eſtabliſhed therein the free exerciſe of their religion, the firſt place in Sweden where this toleration was permitted. By theſe means Gotheborg ſoon became a flouriſhing port *; and, next to Stockholm, the moſt commercial town in Sweden. The town, being in 1611 reduced to aſhes by the Danes, was rebuilt in the reign of Guſtavus Adolphus in its preſent ſituation; and obtained a confirmation of its antient rights, with the grant of ſeveral additional privileges.

* A medal was ſtruck in 1610, comparing this ſudden increaſe of Gotheborg to the growth of a tree from a ſlip: on one ſide the king's name and title, with an inſcription, "Gotheb. Prin. Fund. & Condit." On the reverſe a large tree, from which hang ſuſpended the arms of Gotheborg; beneath are the river Gotha, and the fortreſs Elfſborg, with the following motto:

Quæ præbet latas arbor ſpatiantibus umbras,
Quo poſita eſt primum tempore virga fuit.

Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 422.

Gotheborg

Gotheborg is built in a very ſingular ſituation. At a ſmall diſtance from the ſea is a marſhy plain, ſcarcely more than half a mile in breadth, watered by the rivers Gotha and Moldal, and almoſt entirely incloſed with high ridges of rocks; ſo bare and rugged, that they ſcarcely produce a ſingle blade of graſs, and exhibit as barren an appearance as the ſummits of the loftieſt Alps. Gotheborg ſtands partly upon the ridges, and partly in the plain; and is divided, from theſe different ſituations, into the Upper and Lower Town. The latter is entirely level, interſected by ſeveral canals in the manner of the Dutch towns; and its houſes are all conſtructed upon piles: the upper part hangs on the declivities; and rows of buildings riſe one above the other like the ſeats of an amphitheatre. The whole is regularly fortified; and its circumference is near three miles, excluſive of the ſuburbs, called Haga, which lie towards the harbour. The ſtreets are all uniformly ſtraight: a few of the houſes are of brick; but the generality are conſtructed with wood painted red. The harbour is formed by two chains of rocks, and is about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Its entrance is defended by the fort of New

Elfſborg, which ſtands upon a ſmall rocky iſland, and contains a garriſon of 250 men.

There has been lately eſtabliſhed at Gotheborg, a Royal Society of Sciences and Literature, upon the plan of that of Upſala. Its Acts, which are written in the Swediſh tongue, and printed in the octavo form, contain various ſubjects in the ſeveral branches of ſcience, natural hiſtory, antiquities, hiſtory, and polite letters *.

I was informed by a merchant who had reſided two and twenty years at Gotheborg, that, during that period, its population has increaſed conſiderably, and that it now contains about 20,000 inhabitants. This flouriſhing ſtate is undoubtedly owing to the extenſion of its commerce, particularly its Eaſt India Company, and the ſucceſs of the herring fiſhery.

In 1731 a company of merchants was eſtabliſhed, with the excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies for 15 years; and after various alterations of their charter, the mo-

* At Lund was alſo inſtituted, in 1776, a Royal Phyſiographical Society, which was incorporated by the king in 1778. The ſubjects treated of in its Acts relate only to natural hiſtory, chymiſtry, and agriculture.

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nopoly was, at the laſt renewal, confirmed for 20 years, on condition that the company ſhould advance to government a loan of £. 124,980, one third whereof without intereſt; and ſhould pay £. 3,125 for every veſſel proceeding on a trading voyage to the Eaſt Indies. This company is merely a ſociety of merchants, who ſend annually two or three veſſels to China. As the port of Stockholm, in the Gulf of Bothnia, is cloſed with ice until the ſeaſon is too far advanced for ſhips to take their departure from thence to the Eaſt Indies, the company carries on its commerce from Gotheborg, whoſe harbour, being ſituated in the German Ocean, is more open. The following is the nature of this traffic: Sweden containing little ſpecie, and few manufactures for exportation, the captain of each veſſel firſt proceeds to Cadiz, where he borrows, in the company's name, 100,000 piaſtres, at the intereſt of 30 per cent.; he then ſails to Canton, and purchaſes tea, porcelain, and other Chineſe commodities, which, upon his return to Sweden, are diſpoſed of to great advantage. The uſual net profit upon the whole cargo being 70 per cent.; the gain, when the intereſt is deducted, amounts to about 40 per cent.

In 1740, the herrings, which had hitherto never approached the weſtern ſhore of Sweden, flocking in ſhoals to that coaſt, the inhabitants of Gotheborg eſtabliſhed a fiſhery, which has been attended with conſiderable advantage. Its increaſing produce will appear from the following table:

In 1752 it yielded only 1000 barrels * of herrings.

In 1753	20,766	In 1762	142,091
1754	52,828	1763	186,614½
1755	74,791	1764	99,616½
1761	117,212½	1768	151,483

The herrings frequent theſe coaſts of Sweden in the month of November, when the fiſhery begins, and though it continues ſcarcely three weeks, yet ſupplies during that ſhort ſpace to the fiſhermen of Gotheborg about 600,000 barrels.

As the coaſts in theſe parts are extremely rocky, and the ſea is ſprinkled with innumerable iſlands, the way of catching the herrings is as follows: Eight boats, manned each with two or three fiſhermen, draw one large net,

* A barrel contains 1000 herrings.

encloſing

encloſing a ſhoal of herrings, into a creek or ſmall bay, and the fiſh are ſhovelled on the ſhore into conſiderable heaps. Of the 600,000 barrels caught in this manner 200,000 are ſalted, and from the remainder train-oil is extracted. Fifteen barrels of herrings yield one of oil, which is principally exported to Holland and Spain.

A barrel of herrings ſells, upon an average, for 1*s.* 3*d.* and when ſalted from 8*s.* to 10*s.* Theſe fiſh are not ſo fine as thoſe caught and cured by the Dutch, but being much cheaper, are preferred by the Ruſſians and Poles. The ſalt is procured from Spain; and one barrel of ſalt cures three barrels of herrings. Upon an average we may eſtimate the exportation of ſalted herrings at 150,000 barrels, and the inland conſumption of Sweden at 50,000.

An Engliſh conſul and ſeveral merchants of our nation reſide at Gotheborg; and a chapel, with a regular chaplain, is appropriated to their uſe.

As I did not remain a ſufficient time in Sweden to gain accurate and circumſtantial information concerning the commerce; I can only add the following particulars.

Cantzler *, whoſe accurate account of Sweden cannot be too much recommended to the curious reader, informs us, that of the export trade Stockholm carries on $\frac{7}{11}$, Gotheborg $\frac{2}{11}$, and the other ſtaple towns $\frac{4}{11}$; and of the import commerce, Stockholm $\frac{1}{2}$, Gotheborg $\frac{1}{4}$, and the other towns $\frac{1}{4}$.

The fortifications of Gotheborg are ſo weak, and its garriſon in general ſo ſmall, that in 1788 it muſt have fallen into the hands of the Danes, who, under the pretence of an alliance with Ruſſia, attacked the Swedes, and marched from Norway to the gates of Gotheborg, if the foreign powers had not interfered.

The king of Sweden hurried from Dalecarlia, where he was animating the natives to arm in his defence, to Carlſtadt. There he was met by Mr. Elliot, the Engliſh miniſter at the court of Denmark. Guſtavus having accepted the mediation of England, Pruſſia, and the Hague, Mr. Elliot undertook to ſtop the further progreſs of the Daniſh army; an event which he fortunately accompliſhed at the very inſtant the Daniſh troops were taking poſſeſ-

* Memoires ſur les Affaires Polit. et Econom. de Suede, p. 374.

ſion

ſion of Bohus, and were within a few hours march of Gotheborg. Mean while the king repaired to Gotheborg, arrived at the gates ſo unexpectedly, and at ſo late an hour, that he had the greateſt difficulty in gaining admiſſion; and the Daniſh herald, who the next morning ſummoned the town to ſurrender, was ſurpriſed on being introduced to the king, and informed by his majeſty, that the citizens would defend their ramparts to the laſt extremity. But neither the preſence or courage of Guſtavus, who infuſed new ſpirit into the inhabitants, could have ſaved Gotheborg, if the Engliſh miniſter had not ſtopped the progreſs of the Daniſh army. The firſt armiſtice, concluded under the mediation and guarantee of the Engliſh miniſter, was only for eight days, but was afterwards prolonged for a month, when he ſigned the final convention at Uddevalla for the evacuation of Sweden. The prince of Heſſe retreated into Norway; Gotheborg was ſaved from pillage, Sweden from diſmemberment, and Europe from a general war.

As the diſtricts which I paſſed from Upſala to Trolhætta are eſteemed the fineſt and moſt populous parts of Sweden; thoſe which I traverſed from Gotheborg to Carlſcrona, through

through the province of Smoland, are ſaid to be the wildeſt, leaſt inhabited, and the moſt uncultivated regions of this kingdom. The diſtance between Gotheborg and Carlſcrona is 38 Swediſh, or 247 Engliſh miles; and in this extent of ground only one place dignified with the name of a town preſented itſelf. The villages, for the moſt part, conſiſted of ſix or ſeven houſes; and ſometimes, where I ſtopped to change horſes, I found nothing but a ſingle ſolitary cottage: yet, along this ſeemingly inhoſpitable track, I met with good roads, tolerable accommodations, and a cheerful and contented peaſantry.

March 15. I quitted Gotheborg, and paſſed over a ſucceſſion of barren rocks with few trees, ſimilar to thoſe which ſtretch along the coaſts of the German Ocean near Gotheborg. As I advanced, the country became ſomewhat more fertile. Hills of granite appeared leſs frequent; but large maſſes were ſcattered over the face of the country. The region which I traverſed in this and the following day, though wild, and not capable of much cultivation, was yet infinitely diverſified. It was an hilly diſtrict, in many parts overſpread

ſpread with foreſts of pines, beech, and oak; interſperſed with paſture and ſmall plains of arable land; ſprinkled with ſeveral pictureſque lakes; and watered by numberleſs rivulets, clear as chryſtal, and gurgling over their ſtony channels.

During one poſt of this day's route I was driven by a peaſant's daughter; and as the roads were in many parts exceedingly ſteep, it required ſome ſtrength, and much dexterity, to direct the horſes, and to prevent the carriage from being overturned; I propoſed tha my ſervant, who was an expert driver, ſhould take the reins: the girl, however, offended at my queſtioning her ſkill, peremptorily rejected my propoſal; and, placing herſelf in the poſtillion's ſeat, drove off at full ſpeed, governing the horſes in ſuch a ſkilful manner, that ſhe ſoon quieted my apprehenſions, and we arrived at the end of the poſt without the ſlighteſt alarm; nor was I for the future in the leaſt apprehenſive of truſting myſelf to the guidance of a Swediſh country girl.

I paſſed the night at Hunnaryd in a peaſant's cottage, and ſet off early in the morning; but had not proceeded far before I was obliged to ſtop at Giſſavy, to repair a wheel

of

of my carriage: the place contained but one ſmith, and he had lately become blind; and as none of the wheels in the village would fit the axle-tree, I purchaſed a new axle-tree and four wheels, for the ſum of £. 1. 16ſ. upon which the body of my cart being placed, I proceeded on my journey. A little beyond Giſlavy, I croſſed a rivulet near an iron foundery. The native ore is procured in ſmall round pieces, about the ſize of pea-ſhot, from the bottom of a neighbouring lake, and forged into excellent iron.

Soon afterwards, I quitted the mountainous diſtrict; and deſcended gradually into a ſandy plain, diverſified with woods, lakes, and corn-fields. About ſeven miles from Vernamo, where I took my ſtation for the night, I again came into a hilly country, and advanced to Wexio; a town ſeated upon the banks of a pleaſant lake, which contained a group of woody iſlands. The town, though a biſhop's ſee, is exceedingly ſmall: the houſes are moſtly of wood; the inhabitants chiefly ſubſiſt by the traffic in cattle, that graze in the luxuriant paſtures, with which the intervals of the moſt barren mountains and extenſive foreſts are occaſionally enriched.

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As in the courſe of this route I conſtantly took my repaſt during the day, and paſſed every night in the cottages; I had frequent opportunities of obſerving the cuſtoms, manners, and food of the peaſants. Upon entering a cottage, I uſually found all the family employed in carding flax, ſpinning thread, and in weaving coarſe linen, and ſometimes cloth. The peaſants are excellent contrivers, and apply the coarſeſt materials to ſome uſeful purpoſe. They twiſt ropes from ſwines' briſtles, horſes' manes, and bark of trees, and uſe eel-ſkins for bridles. Their food principally conſiſts of ſalted fleſh and fiſh, eggs, milk, and hard bread. At Michaelmas they uſually kill their cattle, and ſalt them for the enſuing Winter and Spring. Twice in the year they bake their bread in large round cakes, which are ſtrung upon files of ſticks, and ſuſpended cloſe to the ceilings of the cottages. They are ſo hard as to be occaſionally broken with a hatchet, but are not unpleaſant. The peaſants uſe beer for their common drink, and are much addicted to malt ſpirits. In the diſtricts towards the weſtern coaſts, and at no great diſtance inland, tea and coffee are not unuſually found

in

in the Swediſh cottages; which are procured in great plenty, and at a cheap rate, from Gotheborg.

The peaſants are well clad in ſtrong cloth of their own weaving. Their cottages, though built with wood, and only of one ſtory, are comfortable and commodious. The room in which the family ſleep is provided with ranges of beds in tiers (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf), one above the other: upon the wooden teſters of the beds in which the women lie, are placed others for the reception of the men, to which they aſcend by means of ladders. To a perſon who has juſt quitted Germany, and been accuſtomed to tolerable inns, the Swediſh cottages may perhaps appear miſerable hovels; to me, who had been long uſed to places of far inferior accommodation, they ſeemed almoſt palaces. The traveller is able to procure many conveniences, and particularly a ſeparate room from that inhabited by the family, which could ſeldom be obtained in the Poliſh and Ruſſian villages. During my courſe through thoſe two countries, a bed was a phænomenon which ſeldom occurred, excepting in the large towns, and even then not always completely equip-

ped; but the pooreſt huts of Sweden were never deficient in this article of comfort: an evident proof that the Swediſh peaſants are more civilized than thoſe of Poland and Ruſſia. After having witneſſed the ſlavery of the peaſants in thoſe two countries, it was a pleaſing ſatisfaction to find myſelf again among freemen, in a kingdom where there is a more equal diviſion of property; where there is no vaſſalage; where the loweſt order enjoy a ſecurity of their perſons and property; and where the advantages reſulting from this right are viſible to the commoneſt obſerver.

On the 18th at noon I quitted the province of Smoland, and entered that of Blekinge. As I approached the ſhores of the Baltic towards Carlſcrona, ridges of granite again made their appearance, ſometimes bare, ſometimes covered with heath, or clothed with foreſt. About half a mile from Carlſcrona we came upon a fine view of that town, ſtanding in an iſland.

During a fortnight's progreſs from Stockholm to Carlſcrona, through a tract of about 500 Engliſh miles, the weather was ſo clear, dry, and delightful, that I felt no inconvenience from performing the journey in an open cart. There was a gentle froſt at night and

and morning; but the remaining part of the day was cheered with a genial ſun. The Spring, indeed, of that year was remarkably forward and exceedingly mild. The port of Carlſcrona, which is frequently cloſed with ice until the month of April, was open early in March. The peaſants of Upland and Weſtmanland ſeldom till their lands before April *; but I obſerved, during my paſſage through thoſe provinces in the beginning of March, that the huſbandmen had already begun to plow the fields, and to ſow their barley and oats. The rapid progreſs of vegetation in theſe northern regions was extremely viſible from the quick ſhooting of the paſture and young corn, which, though the ſnow had only been melted three weeks, were in a flouriſhing ſtate.

I was greatly ſurprized to find that Sweden would yield ſufficient grain for the interior conſumption of the inhabitants; if ſuch large quantities were not employed in the diſtillation of malt ſpirits. The northern parts of Sweden and Finland produce excellent rye; and the ſouthern provinces wheat, oats, and

* Am. Acad. p. 372; alſo Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 153.

barley.

barley. The wheat and rye are ſown in the middle of Auguſt, and are reaped in the ſame month of the following year. Barley and oats are conſigned to the ground in Spring immediately upon the melting of the ſnow: the former is cut down towards the end of Auguſt; and the oats about the middle of September.

CHAP. XI.

Carlſcrona.—*New docks.*—Swediſh *fleet.*—*Sailors.*—Chriſtianſtadt.—Helſingborg.—*General remarks on the mode of travelling in* Sweden.—*Poſt-horſes.*—*Roads.*—*Similarity between many general expreſſions in the* Engliſh *and* Swediſh *tongues.*

CARLSCRONA derives its origin and name from Charles XI. who firſt laid the foundations of a new town in 1680; and removed the fleet from Stockholm to this place, on account of its advantageous ſituation in the center of the Swediſh ſeas, and the ſuperior ſecurity of its harbour. The greateſt part of Carlſcrona ſtands upon a ſmall rocky iſland, which riſes gently in a bay of the Baltic; the ſuburbs extend over another ſmall rock, and along the mole cloſe to the baſon where the fleet is moored. The way into the town from the main land is carried over a dyke to an iſland, and from thence along two long wooden bridges joined by a barren rock. The town is ſpacious, and contains about 18,000 inhabitants. It is adorned with one or two handſome

handſome churches, and a few tolerable houſes of brick; but the generality of buildings are of wood. The ſuburbs are fortified towards the land by a ſtone wall. The entrance into the harbour, which by nature is extremely difficult from a number of ſhoals and rocky iſlands, is ſtill further ſecured from the attack of an enemy's fleet by two ſtrong forts built on two iſlands, under the batteries of which all veſſels muſt paſs.

During our ſtay at Carlſcrona, we received great civilities, and were entertained in the moſt hoſpitable manner by many perſons of the firſt diſtinction; and had no difficulty in obtaining permiſſion to inſpect the dock-yard, and the whole fleet.

Formerly veſſels in this port, when careened and repaired, were laid upon their ſides in the open harbour, until a dock, according to a plan given by Polhem, was hollowed in the ſolid rock: it was begun in 1714, and finiſhed in 1724; but, as it was too ſmall for the admiſſion of men of war, it has lately been enlarged, and is now capable of receiving a ſhip of the firſt rate. Its dimenſions are in length 190 Swediſh feet; in depth 33; and in breadth 46. It contains 300,000 cu-

bic feet of water, and is uſually emptied in ten hours. Ninety men are employed in pumping at the ſame time, and are relieved every half hour by the ſame number. This being at preſent the only receptacle for the repairing of ſhips, new docks have been begun upon a ſtupendous plan worthy of the antient Romans. According to the original ſcheme, it was intended to conſtruct thirty docks, for building and laying up the largeſt ſhips, at the extremity of the harbour.

A large baſon, capable of admitting two men of war, is deſigned to communicate, by ſluices, with two ſmaller baſons, from each of which are to extend, like the radii of a circle, five rows of covered docks: each row is to be ſeparated by walls of ſtone; and each dock to be provided with ſluice-gates, ſo as to be filled or emptied by means of pumps. Cloſe to the docks, magazines for naval ſtores are to be conſtructed, and the whole to be encloſed with a ſtone wall.

The project, begun in 1757, was much neglected until the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, who warmly patroniſed the arduous undertaking. At the commencement of the works, £. 25,000 were annually expended upon

upon them; which ſum has been leſſened to about £.6,000 per annum; and the number of docks reduced to twenty.

The following was the ſtate of theſe works in March 1779.

The firſt large baſon was finiſhed. Its dimenſions are 250 feet in length, 110 in breadth, and 32 in depth. The greateſt part has been hollowed out of the rock, which was perforated under water; and the excavations filled with gunpowder, introduced and exploded through hollow tubes. The rock being thus blown up and removed, the bottom and ſides were afterwards ſmoothed, cemented with puzzulana brought from Naples, and nicely finiſhed to an even ſurface. Three of the ſides are faced with hewn granite; and the fourth is defended from the violence of the waves by a pier of the ſame material. The two entrances into the ſmaller baſons were nearly completed, and the ſluice-gates, of a ſingular conſtruction, were building: they are hollow machines; and are ſo contrived, that, when filled with water, they afford a paſſage to the ſhip by ſinking, and riſe again when emptied. The principle of mechanics by which they act is ſomewhat ſimilar to that

of the kameels, employed in conveying large veſſels over the bars at Amſterdam and Peterſburgh *. The two ſmaller baſons, formed by excavations of the rock, and of a ſemicircular ſhape, were partly finiſhed.

With reſpect to the docks, the materials were prepared for their conſtruction; and the rock in ſome places had been blown away, and in others the earth had been removed. The bottom of one was already completed; its ſhape was elliptical; the platform and lower part of the walls were compoſed of hewn granite, and cemented with puzzulana; and the ſtones, upon which the keel of a new ſhip was to be laid down, were adjuſted. It was expected that this dock would be entirely covered in before the end of 1779. It was computed, that one new dock would be annually finiſhed; and that in twenty years this grand undertaking would be carried into execution. The water will be introduced, and pumped out, by windmills, or by hands, as occaſion requires.

The primary view and intention of this grand plan was to obtain dry docks, for the

* See Vol. III. p. 350.

purpoſe

purpoſe of keeping the whole fleet entirely covered from wind and weather. It has, however, been a queſtion much agitated in Sweden, whether large veſſels are not more effectually preſerved in water, than when ſecured in dry docks; a ſolution of which can only be given by perſons well experienced in naval affairs. But ſhould this be allowed, yet theſe docks will ſtill be greatly ſerviceable for the conſtruction and repairing, if not for the preſervation of ſhips.

An interval of five years had elapſed ſince my former viſit to Carlſcrona, and I did not find the works advanced as much as I could have expected. Inſtead of building one dock every year, as was intended, only one has been finiſhed in the ſpace of nine years ſince the commencement of the undertaking; and as only two more were in the leaſt forwardneſs, it will probably be a century before the plan is completed. The dock which is finiſhed gives a complete idea of the expence and greatneſs of the plan. The bottom and ſides are of hewn granite, rows of granite pillars ſupport the roof, and bear rather the appearance of a colonnade to a temple, than a receptacle for ſhips.

The ſhips are built at Carlſcrona, chiefly by Engliſh artiſans. Though the provinces of Blekinge and Skone abound with oaks, yet, as there is not a ſufficiency for a continued ſupply, the Swedes procure their ſhip-timber from Germany. They made their two laſt contracts with the king of Pruſſia; the firſt for 400,000 Swediſh cubic feet *; the laſt for 200,000. The latter were delivered in 1778, at the rate of 5*s.* 10*d.* per cubic foot. They are ſupplied from their own territories with maſts and deals, pitch and tar, and the greateſt part of the flax uſed in the navy; and manufacture their own ropes and ſails from hemp chiefly imported from Riga. They caſt their own cannon, and make their own gunpowder with Swediſh ſaltpetre. The harbour of Carlſcrona, in which the Swediſh fleet lies at anchor, is large and commodious, with depth of water ſufficient for ſhips of the firſt rate to carry their lower tier of guns.

Upon paper, the Swediſh navy, in 1779, amounted to 30 ſhips of the line, including thoſe of 40 guns, and 15 frigates, beſide gal-

* 1000 Swediſh feet = 1027 Engliſh feet.

lies,

lies, prames, and xebecs. But as ſeveral of theſe veſſels were very old and exceedingly out of repair, we could not eſtimate thoſe fit for ſervice at that period to have been more than 20 ſhips of the line, and 10 frigates.

Though I was not able to obtain a complete catalogue of the whole navy; yet the following liſt of all the ſhips then in commiſſion, and fitting out for a cruiſe in the Baltic in 1779, the æra of the armed neutrality, will help to ſupply the deficiency.

Veſſels fitting out in March 1779.

Names.	Guns.	Names.	Guns.
Sophia Magdalena, new	74	Vaſa, new	60
Guſtavus III. new	74	Upland, ſtationed at Gotheborg	40
Prince Guſtavus	74	Jaramas	40
Gotha Lyon	74	Swart Orn	40
King Adolphus Frederic	70	Illerin, bound to Morocco	36
Frederic Adolphus, new	64	Prince Guſtavus, new	32
Sophia Albertina	64	Trolle, in Finland	32
Enigheten	64	Erenſvard, in Finland	32
Finland	60		

The ſeamen belonging to government are regiſtered, and amount to 18,000: of theſe ſome receive their pay in money; and others are diſtributed in the ſame manner as the national militia, ſmall portions of land in the iſlands and upon the ſea-coaſt being aſſigned to them

them for their ſubſiſtence. Of theſe 18,000 ſailors, according to the moſt favourable accounts, only about 6000 are reputed to be experienced ſeamen: the reſt are mere peaſants. Upon an emergency, the king enjoys the power of preſſing ſailors from the merchantmen, but only in exchange for the regiſtered ſeamen.

At Carlſcrona I rejoined my companions, whom I had quitted at Stockholm; exchanged my open cart for a more commodious vehicle; and continued my journey from thence to Helſingborg, which cloſes my travels in Sweden. Our route lay through the provinces of Blekinge and Skone. For the firſt two or three poſts the country was hilly and rocky, and covered with foreſt; afterwards it changed to a level and fertile plain. Our road lay near the ſhore; and we had many fine ſea-views, with numerous rocks and ſmall iſlands ſcattered in all directions. About twelve miles from the village of Felkinge, where we took our ſtation for the night, we entered Skone, called by foreigners Scania, the moſt level and the moſt fertile of all the Swediſh provinces. We paſſed through Chriſtianſtadt, a ſtrong fortified town, built in 1614 by

Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, when this province belonged to the Danes; and finally ceded to the Swedes, by the peace of Roſkild, in 1658. The town is ſmall, but neatly built, and is eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Sweden. The houſes are all of brick, and moſtly ſtuccoed white. It ſtands in a marſhy plain cloſe to the river Helge-a, which flows into the Baltic at Ahus, about the diſtance of 20 miles, and is navigable only for ſmall craft of 7 tons burden. Engliſh veſſels annually reſort to this port for alum, pitch, and tar. The inhabitants have manufactures of cloth and ſilken ſtuffs; and carry on a ſmall degree of commerce.

A little beyond Chriſtianſtadt, as we approached the coaſts of the Sound, the country roſe into ſmall inequalities, covered at intervals with trees: the ſoil was chiefly ſand mixed with vegetable mould. We arrived, late in the evening of March the 21ſt, at Helſingborg, the place of embarkation upon the Sound for Denmark.

Before I conclude my travels into Sweden, I ſhall throw together a few remarks upon the mode of travelling, and other general heads, which I had no occaſion to touch upon in a particular manner.

Travelling

Travelling in Sweden is perfectly commodious to a perſon acquainted with the uſual method of procuring horſes. At the different towns and villages upon the high roads, poſt-horſes are not always regularly ſtationed; but if the traveller ſends forward a peaſant to appoint relays, at a certain ſtipulated place and time, his orders are punctually executed. The neglect of this precaution has cauſed frequent delays to inexperienced foreigners, as it did to us upon our firſt arrival in the country; for we were obliged to wait at each poſt-houſe until horſes could be obtained from the adjacent villages. The uſual practice of ſupplying poſt-horſes is regulated in a manner very convenient and cheap to travellers, yet extremely burdenſome to the natives *. All perſons

* Cantzler makes the following judicious remarks upon this ſubject. In enumerating the obſtacles to the improvement of agriculture in Sweden, he mentions, among others, " Les voiturages publics et le tranſport des voya-
" geurs, à faire tour-à-tour par les payſans aſſignés aux
" relais de poſte les plus voiſins. Ceux-ci ſont extrême-
" ment onéreux aux cultivateurs, obligés, chacun au moins
" trois fois par mois, d'envoyer un valet ou garçon avec
" un ou deux chevaux à l'endroit de relais, qui leur eſt
" aſſigné, pour s'y tenir une journée entiére prêt au
" tranſport des poſtes, ſans que les payſans en reçoivent
" aucune compenſation, à moins qu'il ne ſurvienne de
" voyageur.

perſons poſſeſſing land of a certain tenure are bound to ſend one or more horſes, two or three times in the month, to the neighbouring poſt-houſe: if they are not wanted, they return, after waiting 24 hours, without any compenſation for their labour and loſs of time; and, if employed, receive a very inadequate recompence *. I found, indeed, travelling ſo exceedingly cheap in Sweden,

" voyageur. Cette corvée s'appelle Hollsſkjuts, et il s'y " perd chaque fois un jour et demi. Mr. Modeer, ſe- " cretaire de la ſociété patriotique, ſuppoſé 700 endroits " de relais dans tout ce royaume, et ſept chevaux journelle- " ment aſſignés à chaque endroit de relais. En ne compt- " ant même que 300 endroits de relais, et 4 chevaux pour " chacun, ce qui fait 1200 chevaux par jour, ou 432,000 " chevaux par an, à 360 jours, cette ſorte de corvées cauſe " pour l'agriculture une perte annuelle de 216,000 jour- " nées d'ouvrage à faire par un valet et deux chevaux." See Cantzler's Memoirs, &c. p. 202.

* When we firſt entered Sweden, we only paid 16 ſtivers = 5*d.* for each horſe per Swediſh mile from the towns, and 12 ſtivers, or = 3¾*d.* from the villages: this price was ſo exceedingly low, that at the laſt diet the ſtates increaſed it: the new regulation took place on the 16th of March 1779; from which time 24 ſtivers = 10*d.* was paid in the towns for each horſe for a Swediſh mile, and 16 or 5*d.* in the villages. Even, according to this advanced price, the higheſt ſum is not quite 1½*d.* and the loweſt not a penny, per horſe, for an Engliſh mile.

that,

that, during a courſe of 500 miles, from my departure from Stockholm to my arrival at Carlſcrona, my whole expences, including the prime coſt of my cart, the hire of poſt-horſes, the gratuities to the drivers, and the accommodations on the road, did not amount to £. 20, although my Swediſh ſervant occaſionally taxed me with want of œconomy. The drivers being the peaſants themſelves, who uſually attend with their own horſes, are contented with a ſmall acknowledgment of about 2 *d.* or 3 *d.* for each poſt. The horſes are ſmall, but lively and active; two were uſually the complement for my cart; and they went generally at the rate of ſix or ſeven miles in an hour: the poſtilion never rode, but ſat upon a ſmall bench at the extremity of the cart.

The regulations of the poſt are very excellent. At each poſt-houſe is kept a day-book or journal, in which each traveller ſets down his name and character, the day and hour of his arrival and departure, the place from whence he came, and whither he is going, and the number of horſes he requires. One column is appropriated to complaints; ſo that if the poſt-maſter is impertinent or impoſing,

poſing, his conduct is known, as the journal is every month inſpected by the officers of government.

The high roads of Sweden wind agreeably through the country, are made with ſtone or gravel, and are as good as our turnpikes in England; and yet not a ſingle toll is exacted from the traveller. Each landholder is obliged to keep in repair a certain part of the road in proportion to his property; and, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining their reſpective portions, ſmall pieces of wood, or ſtone, marked with numbers and capital letters, are placed at different diſtances on each ſide of the way.

In no kingdom, ſince I quitted England, have I obſerved ſo many ſeats ſcattered over the face of the country as I perceived in Sweden; where the gentlemen of moderate fortunes, as with us, are accuſtomed to reſide upon their eſtates in rural plenty. Theſe ſeats, being compoſed of an aſſemblage of wooden buildings, and painted red, make a neat appearance: occupying a large extent of ground, they look, at ſome diſtance, like ſmall villages, and contribute greatly to the ornament of the country: they are moſt frequent near the lakes; and are not uncommonly ſituated in the

the midſt of hanging woods, or broken rocks ſuſpended over the water.

During my progreſs through this kingdom, I could not avoid being ſtruck with a ſurpriſing reſemblance between the Engliſh and Swediſh languages, not only in ſingle words, but in whole phraſes, ſo that a quick Engliſh ear may comprehend many expreſſions in common converſation. Among other inſtances of this kind, I heard the poſtilions cry out, "Come, let us go;"—"let us ſee;"—"ſtand "ſtill;"—"hold your tongue;"—"go on *." I naturally inquired their meaning of my interpreter, and found that they had the ſame ſignification as in our own language. They are for the moſt part pronounced more like the Scottiſh † than the Engliſh accent; and indeed, in general, the Swedes appeared to me

* Theſe words are thus written in the Swediſh tongue: "*Kom let oſs go*"—"*Let oſs ſe*"—"*Stand ſtill*"—"*Hold "din tunga*"—"*Go an.*"

† A Swediſh gentleman of my acquaintance made the ſame remark during a tour in Scotland; that there was a much nearer reſemblance between the Scotch and Swediſh, than between the Swediſh and Engliſh, both in words and general pronunciation. The ſame gentleman alſo informed me, that there are ſeveral obſolete Swediſh words which are very common in Scotland.

as

as if they were talking broad Scotch. Nor is this any matter of wonder; for it is probable, that the Scottiſh mode of ſpeaking is the ſame as was formerly uſed in England; and that, while we have gradually ſoftened our pronunciation, the Scots have retained it. With reſpect to the ſimilarity between the Swediſh and Engliſh tongues *, we may remark that they are both dialects of the Teutonic or German: and if in pronunciation they reſemble more to each other than to their original ſtock, it is owing to this circumſtance; that we are certainly deſcended from the Swedes and Danes, whoſe languages are only different dialects; and the old Saxon, which gave riſe to the Engliſh, was probably firſt introduced into our iſland by ſettlers, or invaders, from theſe northern kingdoms.

* That the affinity between the Swediſh and Engliſh languages was more obvious in former times, appears from an anecdote mentioned in p. 182 of this volume.

TRAVELS

INTO

SWEDEN.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

Landſcrona.—Lund.—Account of profeſſor Retzius.—Calmar.—Jonkioping.—Wadſtena.—Medvi.—Nordkioping.

A Subſequent journey into the North in 1784, furniſhed me with additional materials for an account of thoſe parts of Sweden, which I did not viſit in my former tour; and a deſcription of Norway.

July 20th. After expreſſing to Mr. Elliott our warmeſt acknowledgments for his polite and friendly attention to us, we quittted Copenhagen at four in the evening; embarked in a four-oared boat, and ſailed to Landſcrona with a favourable breeze. The diſtance is about ſixteen miles.

On approaching Landſcrona, we were embarraſſed with ſhoals and rocks; and as the Daniſh watermen were unacquainted with the coaſt of Sweden, we could not diſengage our-

ſelves, and ſhould have been compelled to return to Copenhagen, if fortunately two Swediſh ſailors, obſerving our diſtreſs, had not waded through the ſea, and conducted our veſſel into port.

Landſcrona, about twenty miles from Lund, a place of very little ſtrength, is now ſtrongly fortifying, and will become a fortreſs of great conſequence, if the works ſhould ever be completed. But it ſeems as if the Swedes, in all their undertakings, formed plans much too great and expenſive for their finances and power; and conſequently, that they ſeldom can finiſh what they begin. Such has been the fate of Carlſcrona, Trolhætta, and Sveaborg; and, perhaps, Landſcrona will furniſh another inſtance of their attempting to execute what exceeds their revenue.

The object of the works now carrying on at Landſcrona is to erect a fortreſs, which ſhall command the whole coaſt of Scania lying oppoſite to the Iſle of Zealand, and to form a harbour for gallies.

The old fortreſs or citadel mounts ſeventy-four guns, and requires a garriſon of two or three hundred men.

The

The harbour lies between the continent and a ſmall iſland about half a mile in circumference, and is at leaſt twenty feet in depth, and will form a very commodious ſtation for the gallies.

This harbour is to be protected by a new citadel on the ſmall iſland. For this purpoſe the iſland is encircling with walls and baſtions of hewn granite. The works are very laborious and expenſive; for the ground being a moraſs, the iſland muſt be drained by means of windmills, and the foundations of the fortifications and buildings be laid on piles. The town alſo, towards the land, is encircling with an extenſive range of fortifications, no leſs expenſive and difficult than the former.

Being from former experience well acquainted with the mode of travelling in this country, we ſent forwards our Engliſh poſt-chaiſe from Copenhagen to Stockholm, and purchaſed for ourſelves two ſmall peaſant's carts, each provided with an arm-chair hung upon ſprings. In theſe vehicles we went uſually at the rate of eight or nine miles in an hour, and not unfrequently travelled from eighty to a hundred miles in a day.

Lund, the capital of Scania, is eſteemed

the moſt antient town in Sweden, according to an old proverb, that when our Saviour was born, Lund was in its glory. The ſimilarity of the genitive caſe Lunden, to the name of the Engliſh capital, has led ſome antiquarians to conjecture, that London derived its appellation from this place.

Lund contains ſcarcely more than 800 inhabitants, carries on but little trade, and is principally ſupported by its univerſity, eſtabliſhed by Charles the Eleventh, and called, from the name of its founder, *Academia Carolina Gothorum*. There are twenty-one profeſſors, and three hundred ſtudents. The library contains 20,000 volumes.

The botanical garden is by no means in a flouriſhing ſtate, the number of plants not exceeding 1200.

Lund is an archbiſhopric. The cathedral is an antient irregular building, raiſed at different intervals. The clerk did not omit to carry us into a ſubterraneous chapel, with a vaulted roof ſupported by groteſque pillars; on two of which are the figures of a man and woman carved in ſtone, ſtretching out their arms, as if they were attempting to pull down the pillars. Theſe groteſque figures have given

riſe

riſe to the following legend:—A giant built the chapel, at the requeſt of the firſt biſhop, on condition that the latter ſhould promiſe to give him either the ſun and moon, his two eyes, or find out his name. When the building was nearly finiſhed, the biſhop, who had not yet found out the giant's name, walked in the environs of the town in great anxiety to a neighbouring eminence, and happened to hear the giant's wife call her huſband by the name of Fin. Elated with this diſcovery, he returned to the town, and ſaluted the giant by his name. The latter was ſo enraged, that he endeavoured, with the aſſiſtance of his wife, to pull down the chapel; but in their firſt attempt they were turned into ſtones.

The following account of profeſſor Retzius was communicated by my learned friend Dr. Pulteney.

" It was in the univerſity of Lund, that " Linnæus acquired, at a very early age, the " firſt ſyſtematic ideas of Natural Hiſtory, " under profeſſor Stobæus; and he lived to ſee " his favourite ſtudies beginning to flouriſh " in that ſeminary, under the influence of one " of his own pupils. He had lamented in " his writings, that in a ſituation much more

" favourable

" favourable than that of Upſala, as being four " degrees more ſoutherly, the garden of Lund " had not riſen to ſome eminence.

" His regret on this occaſion will probably " be ſoon done away by the zeal and exertions " of the preſent profeſſor of natural hiſtory, " Dr. Andrew John Retz. This gentleman " probably received his taſte for natural ſci- " ence from his father; who, with two ad- " juncts, in 1729, at the expence of Stobæus, " inveſtigated the whole province of Scania " in ſearch of plants.

" Retz firſt made himſelf known to the " literary world, by a paper publiſhed in the " 25th volume of the Swediſh Acts for the " year 1764, on the Preparation of *Salep* " from the Roots of the *Orchis Morio*, (Mea- " dow Orchis); to which he gave a clearneſs, " and mucilaginous property, equal to what is " ſeen in the *Salep* of the Eaſt.

" Soon after this time M. Retz gave lec- " tures in natural hiſtory and pharmacy, in " the univerſity of Lund; on which occaſion " he publiſhed in 8vo. 1769, 'An Abſtract, " or enlarged Syllabus, of the Elements of " Pharmacy:' an art, for the teaching of " which, profeſſorſhips are eſtabliſhed in the " univerſities of Sweden.

" In

" In the ſame year he publiſhed a tract on " the rare Plants of Scania, in the collecting " of which, he was aſſiſted by two of his " friends. It was printed in the Swediſh " Acts, vol. 30.

" About the ſame time he alſo read lectures " in chemiſtry; and was appointed Demon- " ſtrator in the botanical garden.

" In 1772 he wrote, in the Swediſh tongue, " an 'Introduction to the Knowledge of the " Animal Kingdom,' 8vo. pp. 136. This " was intended to familiarize the zoological " ſyſtem of Linnæus to his countrymen.

" In the 31ſt volume of the Swediſh Acts, " anno 1770, 'Obſervations on a Paper writ- " ten by M. Mounet, concerning the Method " of preparing Corroſive Sublimate, *in the moiſt* " *way*;' and in the ſame volume, 'Experi- " ments on the Tartar of Wine, and its " Acid.'

" In 1774 was publiſhed, in the form of an " academical diſſertation, the firſt ſpecimen of " his *Obſervationes Botanicæ*; a work which " was afterwards enlarged, re-publiſhed, and " occaſionally continued, as will be noticed in " the ſubſequent part of this account.

" Soon after this time, academical honours " were accumulated on our author. He be-

" came one of the royal profeſſors in the uni-
" verſity of Lund, and ſecretary to a Phyſio-
" graphical Society eſtabliſhed in the ſame
" place. He had been choſen fellow of the
" Medical Society of Copenhagen; of the
" *Naturæ Curioſorum* of Berlin; and corre-
" ſponding member of the Oeconomical So-
" ciety of Leipſic.

" In 1779 he printed *Floræ Scandinaviæ*
" *Prodromus*, 8vo. pp. 300. Retzius calls
" this Flora the outline of a larger work, in
" which he meditated to deſcribe the plants of
" Sweden, Lapland, Finland, Pomerania,
" Denmark, Norway, Holſatia, Iceland, and
" Greenland, after the example of Linnæus in
" the *Mantiſſa*, and of Pollich in his 'Plants
" of the Palatinate.' In this *Prodromus* few
" ſynonyms are introduced, but many obſer-
" vations, which evince the ſcientific genius
" of the author, and his cloſe adherence to the
" principles of his great maſter at Upſala. It
" is ſuch a ſpecimen as would induce the bo-
" taniſts of Europe to wiſh the author may
" perfect his ſcheme.

" After the publication of this work, he
" was complimented by Dr. Thunberg, the
" ſucceſſor of Linnæus, with the applica-
" tion

" tion of his name to a new genus of plants,
" nearly allied to the *Convolvulus*. It is de-
" ſcribed, and figured in the ſecond volume
" of the *Acta Nunclenſia*.

" In 1783 the author's *Prolegomena in Phar-
" macologiam Regni Vegetabilis* were printed at
" Leipſic; and in 1786 tranſlated into the
" German tongue, and publiſhed with notes,
" by J. F. Weſtſtrumb.

" In 1779 M. Retz publiſhed an enlarged
" edition of his *Faſciculus Obſervationum Bo-
" tanicarum*, fol.—This work has been con-
" tinued to the fifth *Faſciculus*, which was
" printed in 1789, the whole containing 200
" pages, and 16 plates of new plants. The
" author tells us, that he had heard Linnæus
" repeatedly expreſs his wiſhes, that all the
" plants in his own *Herbarium* had been de-
" ſcribed in that conciſe way, of which he
" had ſhewn the model in his *Mantiſſa*; and
" which the reader may ſee completely exem-
" plified in our own kingdom, by Mr. Curtis,
" in his moſt excellent work the *Flora Lon-
" dinenſis*; and not leſs ſo by Dr. Smith, in
" his *Icones Plantarum hactenus ineditæ*.

" The deſign of Retzius, in theſe obſerva-
" tions, was to correct ſuch miſtakes as he

" met

" met with in the *Species Plantarum* of Lin-
" næus, and in other modern authors; and
" to deſcribe new plants in the method above-
" mentioned. Linnæus the Elder, to whom
" our author had pointed out ſome errors in the
" 13th edition of the *Syſtema Vegetabilium*, had
" expreſſed his approbation of his ſcheme, and
" with great candour exhorted him to continue
" his reſearches. By ſome ſtrange fatality, the
" errors of this edition remained uncorrected
" in the Supplement; and in the 14th edition
" of the *Syſtema*, in 1784, Retzius's work is
" enriched with the deſcriptions of many new
" plants, communicated by ſeveral hands, but
" principally from Dr. Koenig, phyſician to
" the Daniſh miſſion of Tranquebar; particu-
" larly in the third *Faſciculus*, with a de-
" ſcription of thirteen ſpecies of the *Scita-
" minea*, or ſpice plants of the *monandrous*
" claſs. To the great loſs of ſcience this moſt
" accurate and indefatigable naturaliſt, whoſe
" diligence and ſkill has rarely been equalled,
" died at Tranquebar in July 1785. In theſe
" *Faſciculi*, Retzius has ſucceeded to a de-
" gree that has procured his book admiſſion
" into the collections of all critics in theſe
" ſtudies throughout Europe; and fixed his
" character

" character as a perfect maſter of the Linnæan " ſyſtem. Until a more perfect edition of the " *Species Plantarum* ſees the light, Retzius's " Obſervations may be conſidered as a neceſ- " ſary Supplement to the works of Lin- " næus.

" In 1784 the profeſſor printed, at Stock- " holm, his 'Lectures on the ſeveral Kinds " of Worms which infeſt the human Inteſ- " tines.' It is not within my ſcope to dwell " on this ſubject. It muſt be ſufficient to " obſerve, that the author has taken much " pains to concenter, as it were, in this ſmall " tract, all that ſeemed to him valuable in " preceding authors; and after deſcribing " eleven ſpecies of theſe noxious animals, with " the utmoſt accuracy, he has ſubjoined much " valuable information on this ſubject from " his own obſervations, and reaſonings there- " on."

Our journey lay through Chriſtianſtadt and Lund. The variety of the country, the wildneſs of ſome of the views, the beauty of others, the fertility of the ſmall vallies, and the romantic appearance of the overhanging rocks, formed a moſt pleaſing and agreeable contraſt. Although the baſis of the ſoil is entirely granite, and vaſt fragments

fragments of rock overſpread the face of the whole country, yet the ſuperficies is principally green. In ſome parts juniper buſhes over-run the ſoil, in others large foreſts of oak and pine ſtart from the crevices of the rock, where there ſcarcely appears nutriment for the ſmalleſt vegetable. The vallies, numerous but ſmall, abound with corn and paſture. It was hay harveſt, every atom of ſoil was employed; and I obſerved ſeveral peaſants making hay upon a ſlip of land, which could almoſt be covered with a ſheet; and here and there a ſtone five or ſix feet high overſhadowing a *field* of corn.

In our route from Carlſcrona to Calmar, we paſſed through large foreſts of lofty pines and firs, which were planted by the hand of nature, and ſcarcely intermixed with any other trees, excepting in the environs of the villages. Theſe pines appeared extremely lofty in compariſon with the narrowneſs of the road which winded at their feet, and was overſhadowed by the branches converging to, and almoſt touching, each other.

July 25. As we approached Calmar, we emerged from the gloom of the foreſt, and burſt upon a fine view of the ſea, with a diſtant

proſpect

proſpect of the Iſle of Oeland. The weather was delightful, the ſea calm, and numerous veſſels covering the ſurface of the waters to the fartheſt extent of the horizon rendered the ſcenery as animated as it was beautiful.

Calmar, ſeparated from the Iſle of Oeland by a ſtrait about ſeven miles broad in its narroweſt part, is a ſmall town ſcarcely a mile in circumference, but ſtrongly fortified. The ramparts are at preſent unprovided with guns, which have been lately removed to Landſcrona and Chriſtianſtadt, from the rumour of a Daniſh war. The ſtreets croſs each other at right angles. The town contains 450 houſes. The inhabitants carry on a ſmall trade, and poſſeſs, beſides ſmall craft, about ſeventy veſſels, from 100 to 300 tons burthen.

Calmar is celebrated in the hiſtory of the north, for being the place where the deputies of the three kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were appointed to aſſemble for the election of a king, according to the union of Calmar; an union as favourable to Denmark, as it was contrary to the intereſts of Sweden: it was upheld by the vigour and abilities of Margaret, but, under her weak and unwarlike ſucceſſors, entailed upon Sweden a ſeries of convulſions and troubles, until it

was finally diſſolved by the valour and prudence of Guſtavus Vaſa.

About half a mile from the town is the caſtle, ſtanding on an eminence, the only remains of the antient magnificence of Calmar. The building has been conſtructed at different intervals, and contains a motley mixture of Gothic and Grecian architecture. I obſerved over one of the doors an inſcription, John III. 1568. Parts of the manſion, however, are much older, as the apartment in which the deputies of the three kingdoms uſed to aſſemble ſtill ſubſiſts: It is 94 feet long, and 30 broad. This palace, once the reſidence of the celebrated Margaret, and ſo remarkable in the hiſtory of this country, is now converted into a diſtillery.

Inſtead of proceeding by the direct road from Calmar to Stockholm, we made a circuit through the interior parts of Sweden, the provinces of Smoland and Eaſt Gothland, and paſſed through Jonkioping, Wadſtena, Medwi, Linkioping, and Nordkioping.

In traverſing Smoland, it was curious to obſerve the immenſe tracts of foreſts of pine and fir; the approach to the villages, announced by groves of oak, beech, and birch; and the numerous plots or parterres of arable

ble land among paſtures and rocks. I have frequently obſerved an acre of ground laid out with alternate ſlips of rye, barley, flax, hemp, the intervals between and around ſown with graſs. I paſſed many ſpots in which the trees were cut down and burning in order to manure the ſoil, and render it fit for paſture or corn.

An intelligent traveller *, ſpeaking of the agriculture of Smoland, ſays, "I found a tolera-
" ble ſoil in Smoland, without ſand or heath;
" but the large detached ſtones and maſſes of
" granite with which it is overſpread, render
" the greateſt part unfit for the plough. In
" the crevices of theſe ſtones, and between
" the pines and fir, underwood grows rapidly.

" The peaſants ſelect a ſpot of ground in
" the midſt of the foreſt, cut down the trees,
" ſtrew them over the ground, and burn them
" when dry. They then dig the earth be-
" tween the ſtones with a ſpade, ſow and har-
" row it with rakes, and obtain a good crop
" of corn for two ſucceſſive years. The ground
" is then converted into paſture, and is chiefly
" employed in feeding cattle, which, both in
" this province and Halland, thrive well,

* Profeſſor Bueſch, of Hamburgh.

" make a good appearance, and form an ad-
" vantageous article of export. Theſe ſpots
" of land thus converted are called *Swedja*
" *Land*, or burnt land, and in the ſpace of
" fifteen years are again covered with wood.
" This mode of culture has been uſually cen-
" ſured by many travellers, as very unprofit-
" able and detrimental, but without ſufficient
" reaſon; for many of theſe ſpots cannot be
" uſed to any other purpoſe, being too ſtony,
" and the trees of little value."

Veils are commonly worn in Sweden, not only by the ladies, but even by the female peaſants when at work in the fields; a cuſtom which ſtrikes an Engliſh traveller for its ſingularity, but which is uſeful in theſe parts, in order to ſhade the eyes from the glare of the ſnow in winter, and from the rays of the ſun, ſo ſtrongly reflected from the rocks, in ſummer.

As we approached Jonkioping, on the third day's journey from Calmar, the country became ſomewhat leſs foreſty, and the views more extenſive, though not leſs rude and rocky. About a mile from Jonkioping we came to the top of an eminence, whoſe ſummit was covered with fir, and its feet with

with beech and oak. We looked down upon that town, lying beautifully between two ſmall lakes, and at the ſouthern extremity of the Wetter, a lake of an oblong ſhape, and of ſuch length, that it appeared like an arm of the ſea. It is at leaſt 100 miles in length, and from ſix to twenty-ſix miles broad; its ſhores are gently ſloping, and moſtly clothed with firs.

Jonkioping is the capital of Smoland, and the ſeat of the parliament or ſuperior court of juſtice for the kingdom of Gothland. The town is no more than two miles in circumference, and contains about 3000 inhabitants. The houſes are moſtly of wood, covered with turf. Excepting the houſes in the largeſt towns, and gentlemen's ſeats, few of the buildings in Sweden are roofed with tiles. They are principally covered with turf or moſs, no thatching being uſed, as both too dear, and dangerous in caſe of fire. In order to keep out the rain, large layers of birch bark are ſpread over the timber-work of the roof, under the covering of turf or moſs. Theſe turf roofs make a ſingular appearance, many of them producing herbage, which is occaſionally

cut for the uſe of the cattle. I obſerved a few ornamented with flowers.

In quitting Jonkioping, we coaſted the weſtern ſhores of the Wetter, through a hilly, ſtony, but well cultivated and woody country, the road ſometimes running cloſe to the margin of the water, ſometimes carried over the ſteep precipices which form the ſhores of the lake. The vaſt expanſe of water, which near Jonkioping is too uniform, was partly broken by an iſland about ſeven miles in circumference, and the view was diverſified with a ſmaller lake.

The ſmall town of Wadſtena, on the borders of the lake Wetter, is remarkable for its caſtle, a ſingular building, defended at the four corners by round towers, covered with ſmall domes. This caſtle was built in 1544 by Guſtavus Vaſa, and inhabited by his ſon Magnus, who was inſane. The church, a large handſome building, contains his ſepulchre, and the remains of Catharine, wife of Charles Canutſon, and of Philippa queen of Eric the Thirteenth.

The lake Wetter, like all inland pieces of water ſurrounded with hills or mountains, is ſubject to ſudden ſtorms in the ſtilleſt weather. Superſtition or credulity not unfrequently find

cauſes

cauſes for all phænomena of nature; and I was informed at Copenhagen, that theſe ſudden ſtorms on the lake Wetter were occaſioned by a ſubterraneous communication with the lake of Conſtance, in Switzerland; for it had been diſcovered, by a regular ſeries of correſpondence and obſervation, that when the waters of one lake aroſe, thoſe of the other fell in the ſame proportion; and that frequently the waters of the Wetter were violently agitated without the leaſt wind, or any apparent cauſe, until information arrived, that at that very time the lake of Conſtance had been diſturbed by a tempeſt. The perſon who gave me this information further added, in favour of this phænomenon, that ſimilar plants were obſerved to grow ſpontaneouſly in the neighbourhood of each lake; and that the ſame fiſh were likewiſe caught in both lakes.

On my arrival at Wadſtena I found a gentleman, to whom I had a letter, ſtrongly impreſſed with the truth of this account, and particularly affirming, that a ſeries of correſpondence and obſervation had eſtabliſhed its truth. But when I requeſted a ſpecific proof, I found that his aſſertion was principally grounded on tradition; and that no correſpon-

dence on the ſubject had been carried on by any perſon now alive, but by the great-grandfather of ſome inhabitant of Wadſtena.

I ſhould not have thought this idle ſtory worthy of mention, if the fact had not been poſitively affirmed by perſons of ſome note at Copenhagen; if it was not the generally received opinion at Wadſtena; and if ſome travellers had not been ſufficiently impoſed upon to relate it in their travels.

At Motala, we croſſed the river of the ſame name, which iſſues from the Wetter, and is not navigable for the ſmalleſt veſſels, and ſoon arrived at Medwi, the Swediſh ſpa.

Medwi is pleaſantly ſituated in a gently waving and richly wooded country. The lodging-houſes form one ſtreet of uniform wooden buildings painted red. The walks and rides are delightful, particularly to the banks of the Wetter. The waters of the Spa are vitriolic and ſulphureous.

The regulations of this place ſeem more calculated for the accommodations of the ſick who come to drink the waters, than for the company who aſſemble for pleaſure. Between five and ſix in the morning the company

pany are awakened by the ringing of a large bell, when they uſually riſe, drink the waters, breakfaſt, ride out, or walk. Preciſely at twelve dinner is ſerved in a large hall, to which all the company repair. After dinner they play at cards till five, when they take their afternoon's airing. At ſeven ſupper is ſerved in the ſame hall; at nine the bell rings, the gates are ſhut, no carriages are admitted, and the company moſtly retire to bed.

We had purpoſed paſſing a week at Medwi, but the ſeaſon being paſt, and the company gone, excepting a few invalids, we continued our journey to Stockholm, through Linkioping and Nordkioping.

Having repaſſed the Motala, we aſcended an eminence, and deſcended into the largeſt and moſt cultivated plain I had yet ſeen in Sweden, fertile in corn and paſture, bounded by a ridge of hills, whoſe ſides and ſummits are prettily wooded, and whoſe feet were watered by the Motala, forming a ſucceſſion of lakes. The plain is open, and the fields large; frequent churches, villages, and country ſeats occurred; and the ſcene was enlivened by the hay-harveſt.

In the midſt of this plain ſtands the ſmall but

but neat town of Linkioping. It contains the epiſcopal palace, the cathedral, and the palace in which reſides the governor of Eaſt Gothland.

The axle-tree of one of our carriages breaking, we were detained here for two hours; and the night coming on, we were prevented from enjoying the beauties of the country, which appeared from the dim light of the ſtars more rocky and hilly as we approached Nordkioping, where we did not arrive before one in the morning.

Nordkioping is one of the largeſt and moſt commercial inland provincial towns in Sweden. It covers a large ſpace of ground, being ten miles in circumference; but the houſes are ſmall and ſcattered, and the inhabitants do not exceed 10,000. Its ſituation on the Motala is exceedingly pictureſque. That river flows through the town, forms a ſeries of cataracts, and is divided into four principal ſtreams, which encircle ſeveral rocky iſlands, covered with houſes and manufactories. At the extremity of the town it is navigable for ſmall veſſels.

Several manufactories are eſtabliſhed in the town: fifty-five fabrics of cloth, which employ

ploy 1500 men; three ſugar-houſes; one of ſnuff; fifty mills for grinding corn, which is exported in large quantities; and a braſs foundery.

The fabric of arms mentioned by Mr Wraxall no longer exiſts, the proprietor being a bankrupt.

A ſalmon fiſhery gives employment and riches to many of the inhabitants.

A few miles from Nordkioping we aſcended a high chain of granite mountains, which run from eaſt to weſt; the ſtupendous maſſes of rocks impending over the road, highly pictureſque, reſemble the firſt Alpine paſſes in Switzerland. From the ſummit we looked down upon the rich plains we had paſſed the preceding day, and the Motala winding and flowing into the Bay of Brunick. On deſcending this chain, we traverſed a ſucceſſion of plains and rocks which ſtretch from north to ſouth. The plains are exceedingly fertile in grain and paſture, and watered by numerous rivers and lakes. The villages are numerous, chiefly ſcattered at ſmall diſtances from each other; groupes of two or three cottages placed on rocky eminences, and many churches

ſtanding

ſtanding ſingly, in the moſt pictureſque ſituations, diverſified the ſcenery.

At Filtja, the laſt poſt previous to our arrival at Stockholm, we admired a beautiful bay of the lake Maeler, bounded by perpendicular, rocky, and woody banks. The nearer we approached the capital, the more deſolate the country appeared. It was almoſt entirely covered with rocks or foreſts, exhibiting ſcarcely any traces of human induſtry, excepting a few patches of corn and paſture in the midſt of the foreſt, and about a dozen habitations. This dreary ſcene continued till we aſcended an eminence, and came upon a ſudden view of the ſpires of Stockholm, half hid by the intervening rocks and trees.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Palace of Gripſholm.—Strægnetz.—*Tombs of* Steno Sture, *and* Charles the Ninth.—Bohus.—Marſtrand.—Uddevalla.

THE palace of Gripſholm was a monaſtery of Carthuſians, given to that order by Steno Sture; but as the friars refuſed an aſylum to Guſtavus Vaſa in his diſtreſs, the latter claimed it as the patrimony of his family, and made it the favourite place of his reſidence. The preſent king, being enamoured of a place which was honoured with the preſence of his great anceſtor, has lately improved and furniſhed it, and uſually paſſes here ſome months in the year.

The palace is a Gothic building, and ſtands on a ſmall iſland of the Maeler, overlooking or rather impending over the water. Its antient battlements, and four irregular round towers covered with copper, convey an idea of thoſe antient caſtles mentioned in romances; and the recollection, that it was the favourite reſidence

ſidence of Guſtavus Vaſa, impreſſed us with additional awe and reverence.

This palace contains a curious collection of portraits: Amongſt others I particularly noticed Chriſtopher the Third; Margaret, the Semiramis of the North; and Eric of Pomerania; Steno Sture, junior, adminiſtrator of Sweden; ſeveral portraits of Guſtavus Vaſa, particularly one painted by his ſon, the unfortunate and accompliſhed Eric the Fourteenth; the treacherous Arnold Peterſon, who received and endeavoured to betray Guſtavus Vaſa, and his wife, who preſerved him; Catharine, the beloved conſort of Eric the Fourteenth, pale and delicate; Guſtavus, ſon of Eric the Fourteenth, who died in Ruſſia; he is repreſented in chains, and his countenance conveys a fine expreſſion of melancholy; John the Third; Charles the Ninth; and Oxenſtiern, the celebrated chancellor.

A large hall contains thirty-four whole length portraits of the European ſovereigns contemporary with Guſtavus Vaſa. Among the moſt conſpicuous I remarked the emperor Maximilian the Firſt; Sigiſmond the Firſt, king of Poland; the emperor Charles the Fifth, and his brother Ferdinand; Louis, king

of Hungary; our Elizabeth, in the bloom of her youth, and much prettier than ſhe is uſually repreſented; and Eric the Fourteenth, painted by himſelf.

The new ſaloon is hung with portraits of the preſent ſovereigns of Europe.

We were ſhewn a ſmall apartment, in which John the Third was confined ten years by his brother Eric, and in which Eric alſo was afterwards impriſoned by order of John.

The king has built an elegant theatre, in which plays are occaſionally repreſented during his reſidence in this ſpot.

Strægnetz, fourteen miles from Gripſholm, is a ſmall town on the banks of the Maeler. That lake never appears a large expanſe of water, but is divided into numerous bays or inlets, which ſeem like ſo many detached lakes. Its ſurface is interſperſed with rocky iſlands, and its perpendicular banks are covered to the water's edge with hanging groves; but the eye is tired with the tedious uniformity of the firs and pines, which form almoſt the only trees that fringe its banks, or overſpread its iſlands.

The cathedral, a large red brick building, with a ſquare tower roofed with copper, contains

tains the ſepulchres of the adminiſtrator Steno Sture the elder, and of Charles the Ninth.

The ſepulchre of Steno Sture is a ſarcophagus of marble, ornamented with a ſword, helmet, and buckler.

His body was formerly buried in the monaſtery of Gripſholm: when that monaſtery was aboliſhed, at the introduction of the proteſtant religion, it was removed to the pariſh church of Kermbo, and in 1577 conveyed in ſtate to this cathedral by order of Charles the Ninth, then duke of Sudermanland.

Time had mouldered his tomb, and his remains were not diſtinguiſhed by any memorial, until the ſepulchre which now covers his aſhes was erected by the preſent king. His majeſty conſidered it as a national reproach, that no tomb or inſcription ſhould be erected in honour of a man, who, in the capacity of adminiſtrator, directed the helm of ſtate during thirty turbulent years, and ſupported the rights of his countrymen againſt the repeated invaſions of the Danes; who gave to his country equal laws; and, no leſs eminent for his protection of letters, founded the univerſity of Upſala.

The tomb of Charles the Ninth ſtands near the altar, on it is the equeſtrian figure of the

king in complete armour, the ſame which he is ſaid to have worn in his life-time.

Although the tranſcendent merits of Charles the Ninth are eclipſed by the ſuperior qualities of his father and ſon, yet, even as the ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, and father of Guſtavus Adolphus, he ſeems to ſhine no leſs with native than with reflected luſtre.

Compelled from neceſſity to take up arms in conjunction with John, and to aſſiſt in depoſing Eric the Fourteenth, yet he behaved to his unfortunate brother with humanity and deference, oppoſed and condemned his aſſaſſination, and openly remonſtrated againſt the indignity offered to his remains.

The life of Charles the Ninth was almoſt a continued ſtruggle againſt civil commotions and foreign invaſions; yet amidſt thoſe foreign and domeſtic troubles his whole adminiſtration was reſpected at home and abroad. He had long been the real, while Sigiſmond, who chiefly reſided in Poland, was the nominal, ſovereign; until the unanimous voice of the nation depoſed the weak and bigotted Sigiſmond, and raiſed Charles to the throne of Sweden; a meaſure ſo well conducted as not to appear effected by his own private intrigues,

but rather the reſult of national affection and national neceſſity.

Charles, in his conduct as king, fully anſwered the ſanguine expectations of his people. He was enterpriſing, yet cautious in war, ſagacious and deciſive in the cabinet, a friend to humanity, yet ſevere in the puniſhment of crimes. Attached by principle to the proteſtant religion, he ſupported with firmneſs its declining cauſe, againſt the perſecutions of John and Sigiſmond, and raiſed it, almoſt drooping, again to pre-eminence.

Zealous to promote the intereſts of his people, he built towns, encouraged commerce and agriculture, and patronized letters. Of quick and lively feelings, he was ſubject to violent but ſhort tranſports of paſſion, which harraſſed his frame, and finally occaſioned his death. He died in 1611, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, leaving the commerce, finances, and army, in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, and, a moſt invaluable legacy to his country, his ſon Guſtavus Adolphus.

From Strægnetz we paſſed through Arboga, Orebro, Lidkioping, Trolhætta, and Gotheborg, of which places I have already given a curſory account *.

* See Book VII. c. ix. and x.

From Gotheborg we made an excurſion to Bohus, Marſtrand, and Uddevalla, in our way to Norway.

The fort of Bohus ſtands on a rocky eminence in the Iſle of Bohus, encircled by two branches of the Gotha. This fort was formerly celebrated in the hiſtory of Norway, as a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and forming the frontier fortreſs between Sweden and Norway, during the conſtant wars in which the Danes and Swedes were engaged.

It was a wooden fortreſs before the invention of gunpowder, but in 1448 was rebuilt with ſtone by Chriſtian the Firſt. Its ſituation is very ſtrong: it contains a garriſon of a hundred men. From its ſummit we commanded a view of the Gotha winding at the feet of the moſt barren rocks.

From Bohus we proceeded through a rocky country to Kiulthal, a ſingle houſe, inhabited by a cuſtomhouſe officer, where we embarked, and rowing through ſmall bays and creeks, amid barren rocks and crags, we arrived in two hours at Marſtrand, one of the moſt extreme of thoſe cluſters of iſlands which extend in ſuch numbers from the coaſts of Sweden.

Marſtrand, which for its ſtrength is called

the Gibraltar of Sweden, is a rocky iſland in the Cattegate, about two miles in circumference; the town, which lies on the eaſtern ſide, contains about 160 houſes, and about 1,200 inhabitants. It was declared a free port in 1776, and was the great reſort for the American veſſels trading to theſe parts, who were not permitted to enter into any other port of Sweden. The traffic carried on by theſe means enriched the town, particularly in 1780 and 1781. Since the peace the commerce has greatly diminiſhed, and the inhabitants now chiefly ſubſiſt by the herring fiſhery, by the number of ſhips which in bad weather take refuge in the harbour, and by a contraband trade.

Previous to 1781 the inhabitants obtained conſiderable profits by ſmuggling brandy into Sweden, the importation of which was entirely prohibited in the other ports; but as the ſame privilege of importing foreign ſpirits for the purpoſe of exportation has been lately granted to Gotheborg, Marſtrand has loſt great part of its contraband trade.

Marſtrand is called a *free port*, but its exemption is merely imaginary; for although all goods are admitted into the town free of duty, yet

yet they cannot be exported from thence without paying the uſual cuſtoms. Above ſixty cuſtom-houſe officers are eſtabliſhed, and carefully examine all veſſels at the time of their departure: we underwent a very ſtrict ſearch.

The harbour is extremely ſecure and commodious, but of difficult entrance, and in tempeſtuous weather dangerous, without a pilot of the place. It is capable of containing 200 veſſels, and of ſufficient depth for the largeſt.

Each of the two entrances which lead into the harbour are commanded by two new batteries. That on the north ſide, which is quite finiſhed, mounts 10 guns of 24 and 36 pounders, and could contain in time of war a garriſon of 150 men. The ſouth battery, which was not yet mounted, will be capable of containing 300 ſoldiers. The place is ſtill further fortified by the ſtrong citadel of Carlſtein, which ſtands on an eminence in the middle of the iſland. It was built in 1682, by Charles the Eleventh, and was taken by the Danes in 1719; but its fortifications have lately been ſo conſiderably ſtrengthened, that it is now deemed impregnable. On the top of the higheſt tower is a light-houſe, from which I com-

manded a moſt extenſive view of the Cattegate, ſprinkled in the adjacent parts with ſo many rocks and iſlands as ſurprized me from their aſtoniſhing number—

"Thick as th' autumnal leaves that ſtrew the vale
"Of Valombroſa *."

The numerous rocks and ſhoals render this ſea ſo extremely dangerous, that, according to an accurate computation, above 300 veſſels annually take refuge during ſtreſs of weather in the harbour of Marſtrand. It was a pleaſing reflection to ſee theſe rocks covered with the huts of fiſhermen, and to conſider, that the induſtry of man had rendered ſuch barren ſpots the nurſeries of many families by the profits of the herring fiſhery.

Having gratified our curioſity at Marſtrand, we embarked, and returned to Kiulthal, from whence we continued our journey through a country ſo exceedingly rocky and barren, that if I had not obſerved occaſional ſlips of corn and paſture in the ſmall vallies, I ſhould have concluded, that the ſea had only left it yeſterday. As I advanced towards Uddevalla the lands became gradually more and more fertile,

* Milton.

yielding

yielding rye, barley, and oats, ſprinkled with foreſts of fir, and watered by ſeveral lakes. As we paſſed theſe pieces of water in the duſk of the evening, we obſerved ſeveral boats hanging out lights in order to allure the fiſh into nets.

Uddevalla is prettily ſituated on a bay of the ſea, and at the bottom of ſome ſteep rocks at the extremity of a ſmall but fruitful valley. The houſes are built of wood painted red and yellow; the ſtreets are ſpacious and airy. It contains about 3,000 inhabitants, and carries on a tolerable commerce, exporting iron, planks, and herrings.

As we proceeded in our journey northward from Uddevalla, the hills increaſed in height; the vallies became more confined, and leſs fruitful; the rocks more rugged; and the few pines that relieved the eye leſs tall and luxuriant.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

N° I.

Articles of the New Form of Government eſtabliſhed in Sweden at the Revolution of MDCCLXXII.

The following form of government is an exact tranſcript of that which was tranſlated into Engliſh, by order of his Swediſh Majeſty, from the original, and printed for the uſe of the Engliſh Merchants reſident at Stockholm. Although it contains ſeveral expreſſions and phraſes not perfectly conſonant to the idiom of the Engliſh language; yet, as it is a ſtate-paper of great conſequence, I thought it more adviſeable to print it in its preſent form, than to new-model the ſtyle; particularly as there are very few expreſſions, the meaning of which can be doubted. The reader will therefore excuſe any trifling errors in the ſtyle, or orthography; and not impute them to any negligence in the author.

WE, GUSTAVUS, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, &c. &c. &c. heir of Norway, duke of Schleſwig, Holſtein, &c. &c. make it known, that whereas, from the beginning of Our reign, We uninterruptedly have endeavoured to employ Our

Our royal power and authority to promote the advancement, ſtrength, and welfare of this realm, as well as the improvement, ſafety, and happineſs of Our loyal ſubjects; and that, in order to obtain this end, We have found, that the preſent ſituation of the country requires an unavoidable amendment of the Fundamental Laws, adapted to the above-mentioned ſalutary purpoſe; and therefore, after the moſt exact and mature deliberation and reflection, We have drawn up a form of government, which the States of the realm now aſſembled unanimouſly have received and ſworn to; which form of government, ſo agreed to by the ſtates, We graciouſly have been pleaſed, by theſe preſents, to approve and confirm, according to its literal ſenſe, in the form and manner following,

We, the under-written Senators and States of the kingdom of Sweden, counts, barons, biſhops, knights and nobility, clergy, chiefs of the militia, deputies of the towns and peaſantry, here aſſembled in behalf of ourſelves and our fellow-ſubjects at home, make it known, that whereas We, by a ſad experience, have found, that, under the name of the bleſſed Liberty, ſeveral of our fellow ſubjects have formed an Ariſtocracy, ſo much more intolerable, as it hath been framed under licentiouſneſs, fortified by ſelf-intereſt and ſeverities, and finally ſupported by foreign powers, to the detriment of the whole ſociety, and which hath brought us in the utmoſt inſecurity by the wrong interpretation of the law, and at laſt might have led the kingdom, our dear native country, to the dreadful fate, which the hiſtory of former times, and the example of our neighbours, hath laid before us, had not the ſpirit of zealous citizens, and their love to the country, ſupported by the zeal and atchievements of the High and Puiſſant Prince and Lord Guſtavus III. King of Sweden,

Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, our moſt Gracious Sovereign, ſaved and drawn us out of it; ſo that we have turned our thoughts upon fortifying our liberty, in a manner, that it may not be abuſed by a bold enterprizing ruler, nor by ambitious, ſelf-intereſted, and treacherous citizens, or ſpiteful and haughty enemies; but that the old kingdom of Sweden and Gothia for ever may be a free and independent realm: therefore we have granted and confirmed, as we, by theſe preſents, declare and aſſert this form of government to be an unchangeable and ſacred Fundamental Law, which we, for us and our poſterity, born and unborn, promiſe to obey and keep, after its literal ſenſe; and deem thoſe to be enemies to us and the kingdom, that would perſuade us to deviate therefrom, as it, word for word, here follows:

I. Unanimity in religion, and the true divine worſhip, is the ſureſt baſis of a lawful, concordant, and ſtable government; and therefore the king, and all the officers and ſubjects of the realm, ſhall, hereafter as hitherto, firſt and foremoſt be addicted to the pure and evident word of God, as it is revealed in the Prophetical and Apoſtolic Writings, explained in the Chriſtian Symbols, the Catechiſm of Luther, and the unvaried Confeſſion of Augſburg, and confirmed by the Council of Upſala, and the former Decrees and Declarations of the States, in order that the right of the church may be ſtrengthened, but without any prejudice to the rights of the king, of the crown, or of the whole Swediſh people.

II. The king is intitled to rule his realm as the law of Sweden ſays, he and no other, to fortify, love and keep juſtice and truth; but forbid, aboliſh, and deſtroy unrighteouſneſs and injury; not to ruin any man as to his life

life and honour, body or welfare, unleſs he be lawfully convicted and judged, nor to diſtrain, or ſuffer to be diſtrained, from any man his goods, moveable and unmoveable, without lawful trial and judgment, and to rule the kingdom according to the chapter of the law concerning the king's prerogative, the Swediſh law, and this form of government.

III. The order of ſucceſſion to the crown ſubſiſts intirely as it is eſtabliſhed in the Act of Inheritance, ſettled at Stockholm Anno Domini 1543, in conformity to the like Act of Weſteras, Anno Domini 1544, and the Decree of Norrkoping, Anno Domini 1604.

IV. Next to the king's majeſty, the greateſt reſpect hath been of old, and ſhall be hereafter, paid to the ſenators of the realm; and them the king alone creates and elects of native Swediſh knighthood and nobility, bound to his majeſty by fidelity, loyalty, and allegiance: and though they cannot be determined to a fixt number, becauſe ſo many may be conſtituted as the need and dignity of the kingdom requires; yet they ordinarily ought to be ſeventeen, inclusive of the high officers of the realm, and the lord-lieutenant of Pomerania. The chief care of all theſe ſhall be to adviſe his majeſty in all the important affairs and concerns of the kingdom, whenever it pleaſeth his majeſty to conſult them; to aſſert all rights of the realm, to adviſe all that is moſt advantageous for him and for the kingdom, after the beſt of their judgement; to influence the ſtates and the people to loyalty and willingneſs; to be careful of the right, majeſty, independency, advantage, and flouriſhing ſtate of the king and the realm; and thus, according to what the Decree of the Diet of the year 1602 ſays, adviſe, as their duty demands, but not rule.

rule. For the reſt, the ſenators are bound to the king alone, and anſwerable to him only for their counſels; yet the king cannot reproach, or impute to them any bad ſucceſs, which may happen againſt their ſuffrages, expectations, thoughts, and opinions, formed upon good reaſons, eſpecially if the execution of good counſels does not reach the propoſed aim, by the fault of him to whom it is enjoined and commanded to perform and execute them.

V. The king is entitled to govern and rule, ſave and protect towns and countries, and all the rights appertaining to him and to the crown, according to the law and this form of government.

VI. Whereas the negotiations of peace, truces, and alliances offenſive and defenſive, ſeldom bear the leaſt delay, and neceſſarily require the greateſt ſecrecy, his majeſty therefore conſults with the ſenators in thoſe important matters, and, having pondered and collected their ſuffrages, takes ſuch meaſures and expedients, as he himſelf thinks to be the beſt and moſt uſeful for the kingdom; yet if, in thoſe important matters, the ſenate ſhould prove unanimous in an opinion, oppoſite to his majeſty's, then his majeſty yields to their ſentiment; but if the advices ſhould prove different, then his majeſty decides, and approves of that opinion which he himſelf thinks the beſt and moſt advantageous.

VII. If the king is a foreigner, he may not go out of his kingdom without the knowledge and conſent of the ſtates of the realm; but if he is a native Swede, then he only needs to communicate his reſolution to the ſenate, and perceive its advice, in the manner ſet down in the foregoing VI.

VIII.

VIII. And that all occurring buſineſs may be performed, by his majeſty, with the more activity and order, the affairs are to be divided between the ſenators in the manner his majeſty thinks moſt uſeful and proper; his majeſty, as the head of the kingdom, only being accountable to God and the country for his ruling it; and in all theſe affairs, when his majeſty hath collected the opinions of the ſenators, who are acquainted with thoſe matters, and called by his majeſty to ponder them, his majeſty hath the deciſive voice; yet herefrom ſhall be excepted all the juridical caſes judged at the King's benches, courts martial, or any other of the tribunals in the kingdom, and which come in the laſt inſtance to the final deciſion of the high reviſion of juſtice, which always conſiſts of ſeven ſenators, that have been employed in juridical offices, and are reputed to be juſt and ſkilled in the law, and where his majeſty himſelf hereafter, as before, is preſent, having there but two voices, and, when the opinions prove even, the deciſive vote.

IX. It appertains to the king's majeſty alone to do acts of grace, and to give pardon, to reſtore honour, life, and goods, in all crimes, which are not evidently contrary to the holy word of God.

X. All the higher offices, from lieutenant-colonel to field-marſhal, both incluſive, and all their equals in the eccleſiaſtical and civil order, are in the king's gift, in the ſitting of the ſenate, after the following wiſe:—When a place is vacant, the ſenators ought to take notice of the capacity and merits of all perſons that ſue for ſuch places, and who may come into conſideration, and make report thereof to his majeſty; and his majeſty, having in the ſenate indicated the perſon who is come in his gracious remembrance,

remembrance to be advanced to the ſame place, the ſenators give their conſiderations thereupon in the protocol, but without any further votation. To all other employments the colleges, and other perſons concerned, propoſe to his majeſty three perſons of the moſt ſkilled, worthieſt, and beſt qualified for the vacant place, that are to be found; on which occaſion, ſomebody or other of merit, beſides thoſe of the college, may be remembered; and all others that ſeek for the preferment, and are competent, may be named. In the regiments, the propoſal to the vacant poſt is to be made according to the ſtatute of King Charles XII. of the 6th November 1716. If, in the propoſing, any man ſhould be found to be injured, and without reaſon neglected, the reſpective perſons concerned ſhall be accountable for it. Out of the ſoliciting perſons his majeſty chuſeth him that he thinks the moſt qualified. But all the other lower offices, of which the colleges, chapters, and colonels of the regiments, as well as other bodies, before the year 1680, have been uſed to diſpoſe, may be now and hereafter in their particular gift. Foreigners, being princes or other perſons, may not hereafter be employed in the commiſſions of the crown, neither in the civil nor military ſtate, except in his majeſty's court, if they be not by eminent and great qualities able to do ſignal honour and notable ſervice to the kingdom. To all theſe places ability and experience ſhall only open the way, without any regard to favour or birth when they are not accompanied with merit. The election of the arch-biſhop, biſhops, and ſuperintendants, ſhall proceed after the former cuſtom, and his majeſty alone nominates one of the three who are propoſed to him by the perſons concerned. The preferment of the paſtors of pariſhes ſhall be entirely according to the form of govern-

ment of the year 1720, and the other ſtatutes concerning theſe affairs enacted after that time.

XI. The king alone is entitled to ennoble thoſe that by loyalty, virtue, valour, learning, and experience, have made themſelves well deſerving of the king and the country; but whereas there is a great multitude of noblemen in Sweden, his Majeſty vouchſafes to reſtrain this number to one hundred and fifty: and the order of nobles may not deny introduction to theſe one hundred and fifty new families: likewiſe the nobility may not deny introduction to the noblemen his majeſty will create counts or barons, and who by great and eminent merits have deſerved it.

XII. All affairs, here above not excepted, are to be reported to his majeſty in his cabinet; or in one of the diviſions in the ſenate, when his majeſty thinks it more proper; or, if his majeſty ſhould be pleaſed, to adviſe with a greater number of ſenators; but in that caſe they ſhall always be deemed to have been propoſed in the cabinet.

XIII. The realm being large, and the affairs many, and of greater importance than that the king alone can be able to examine and clear them all, he needs officers and governors to aſſiſt him.

XIV. For the diligent attendance, performance, and expedition of the affairs, certain colleges are inſtituted, who, like the arms of the body, extend their care to all that is to be done and executed in the kingdom. They have right and power, every one in their functions, in the

the name of the king, and in what relates to their charges and office, to command the officers under them, and to keep them who are under their care and direction, to the performance of their duty, to demand account of their expeditions, and to give his majeſty all neceſſary and deſired notice, as well of thoſe as their own buſineſs.

XV. In the King's Bench, which is the king's higheſt court of judicature, is to be one preſident, who, by learning and ſkill in the law, has made himſelf a qualified judge; and has, for his aſſiſtants, one vice-preſident, and the uſual counſellors and aſſeſſors of the King's Bench. Theſe high tribunals, every one in their place, have inſpection and care that juſtice may be accountably and well adminiſtred, according to law and eſtabliſhed ſtatutes; which, without miſinterpreting, muſt be obſerved and kept in the judgements after the true and literal ſenſe; inſomuch, that the courts of King's Bench, without profit, ſelf-intereſt, or other conſiderations, do juſtice to every body, as they ſhall be anſwerable before God and the king, leſt unrighteouſneſs might ruin the land and the kingdom. A nobleman may never, in arraignments of capital cauſes, be judged in any other court than that of the King's Bench, intirely as the privileges and ſtatute relating to law-ſuits of the year 1615 preſcribes and commands; yet the trial may be made *in loco*, and no other criminal caſes than thoſe touching life and honour be brought thither. It appertains likewiſe to the King's Bench to have a narrow inſpection over the inferior judges in the cities and country, as well as executors; and when any thing is done by them out of imprudence, blundering, or avarice, they muſt immediately be ſued, judged, and puniſhed as the caſe requires; but if any of them ſhould be convicted of having wilfully,

out of hatred, malignity, or for bribes, wronged the juſtice, and thus wounded his conſcience, and damaged his fellow-ſubject on his life, honour, and welfare, ſuch a one ſhall not be puniſhed with fines, or removal from his place, but with loſs of his life and honour, and, according to the caſe, pay for his malice and miſchievouſneſs, intirely after the Swediſh law. Nor may ſuch miſdemeanors be huſhed up or countenanced by indulgence or unſeaſonable mercy, leſt, in ſo grave matters, others may be induced to a licentious abuſe of juſtice, when they perceive, that, upon the offence, forfeiture and damage, due cenſure and well-deſerved puniſhment does not follow. On the contrary, they who, out of malice, raſhneſs, and revenge, fall upon the judges and executors of the law, in the performance of their offices, with calumnious, ſlandering, and injurious words and writings, without being able fully to prove what they have charged them with, ſhall be immediately and ſeverely puuiſhed, as every particular caſe may require; in order that inconſiderate, malicious, and miſchievous perſons may take warning thereat: but nobody, whoſoever he is, ſhall be for a long while kept in priſon without being put to a trial and judgement. And, in order that need and diſtreſs may not give the judge an occaſion and pretence to abuſe his office, the lawman's-judge and ſeſſion-money, granted by the peaſantry to the maintenance of their judges, ſhall be kept untouched, and employed to its due end, and the pay of the judges, after the annual liſt, exactly according to the aſſurance of King Guſtavus Adolphus, of bleſſed memory, in the year 1611. The king's attornies and ſerjeants at law may not exerciſe their offices to the injury of others, and promoting their own ſelf-intereſt: and if this ſhould happen, they ſhall be accountable for it according to law; of which the chancellor of juſtice ſhall

have

have a narrow inſpection: his incumbent duty it is likewiſe, to ſee how the law and the ordinances are obeyed, and give an account thereof to his majeſty. The above-mentioned King's Benches ſhall, hereafter as hitherto, be three. The firſt at Stockholm, whereto appertains the whole kingdom of Sweden, properly ſo called in the old law: the ſecond is always at Jonkoping, whereto belongs the whole kingdom of Gothia; and the third has its ſeat at Abo, to which the Great Duchy of Finland reſorts.

XVI. All commiſſions, deputations with juriſdiction, or extraordinary tribunals, either eſtabliſhed by the king or the ſtates, ſhall be hereafter aboliſhed, as being the means to further ſovereignty or tyranny; and every Swediſh man ſhall enjoy the right to be judged by that court to which he belongs, after the law of Sweden: but if it ſhould happen, that any of ſo high a birth, or the ſenators, or a whole college, ſhould prove guilty of ſo high crimes and miſdemeanors, that it concerns the king, the realm, or the majeſty of the crown, and that the criminal could not be judged neither by the King's Bench, nor by the ſenate, then a tribunal of the realm ſhall be conſtituted, where the king ſhall be preſent, or in his place the prince royal ſhall preſide, or the firſt of the hereditary princes, or the eldeſt ſenator; and whoſe members are to be all the ſenators, the field-marſhal, all the preſidents of the royal colleges, four of the eldeſt counſellors of the three King's Benches, one general, two of the eldeſt lieutenant-generals, two of the eldeſt major-generals, the eldeſt admiral, the two eldeſt vice-admirals, the two eldeſt rear-admirals, the chancellor of the court, and the three ſecretaries of ſtate; the chancellor of juſtice is always ſollicitor; and the eldeſt ſecretary of reviſion ſhall keep the minutes. This tribunal is intitled,

the trial paſt, to publiſh the judgement with the doors open, and nobody may afterwards have power to alter it, and much leſs to make it more ſevere: his majeſty not deprived of his prerogative to pardon.

XVII. Next to the King's Benches follows the Military College, where now, as before, is to be a preſident, the maſter of ordnance, the quarter-maſter-general, and the wonted counſellors of war, who muſt be well uſed to accounts, and are eſpecially to be taken out of thoſe that are ſkilled in matters of war. This college has inſpection and care of the land army in the kingdom, the artillery, uſed both in the field and in the fortreſſes, the body of fortification, guns, factories, weapons, ammunitions, and what belongs thereunto, the condition of the fortreſſes, eſpecially at the frontiers, caſtles, and building for the war, the levying, enliſting, and reviewing of ſoldiers; and ſo further, according to the inſtructions, ordinances, and royal writs, as are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XVIII. The whole land army and navy of the kingdom, with the high and low commanders thereof, ſhall take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his majeſty, the realm, and the ſtates, according to the eſtabliſhed form. The army of horſe and foot, as well as the mariners, continues, as it is appointed, according to the ſanction, called Indelnings-Werk, and is to be maintained by the contracts made with the peaſantry and the towns, which are to be narrowly performed, obeyed, and kept, until his majeſty, with the ſtates, ſhall find it neceſſary to alter them in any way.

XIX. No colonel, or any other of the military commanders, may, without his majeſty's own order, ſummon any

any home-ſent troops to aſſemble, excepted the uſual rendevous of the regiments, unleſs in caſe of an unexpected invaſion of the enemies of the kingdom, which ſhall then be inſtantly reported to his majeſty; the chief command belonging to him alone over his whole army and navy, as it has always been uſual in former, and for the country the moſt flouriſhing and happy times.

XX. The third college of the realm is the Board of Admiralty, wherein is to be a preſident, and the members are to be all the admirals and flag-officers preſent; but for the better managing of theſe affairs, in his majeſty's council there ſhall be at leaſt one ſenator who hath ſerved in the navy, and is experienced in the marine. This college has the inſpection and care of the navy of the realm, with all things thereto belonging, as well the building of the ſhips, their equipping and furniſhing with guns, as the victualling, the raiſing of the marines, the company of divers, the pilotry, and all other buſineſs thereto belonging, according to the inſtructions, royal writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XXI. The fourth college is the Chancery of the Realm, where one of the ſenators always is preſident, having, as members, one or more of the ſenators, one chancellor of the court, the ſecretaries of ſtate, and the uſual counſellors of chancery. In this college, all the ſtatutes, ordinances, and receſſes, concerning the kingdom in general, and the privileges of particular towns and perſons, are framed and penned, eſpecially commiſſions for places, edicts, writs, and warrants: hereto belong likewiſe all the records and rolls of the diets and other aſſemblies, alliances with foreign powers, treaties of peace

with enemies, the due diſpatching of envoys, all the counſels the king ordinarily takes from the ſenators, or ſome of them, and the records thereof, as well as all what is iſſued under his majeſty's name and ſeal. This college has likewiſe the neceſſary care for the poſt-Offices in the whole kingdom and the adjacent provinces, in order that they, under the inſpection of the chief director, may be duly adminiſtred. The ſecretaries of ſtate are to take particular care that the reſolutions, according to his majeſty's deciſion, and in conformity with the records, may be readily and ſpeedily, duly, and in good order, iſſued, without the leaſt neglect, in what view ſoever it might be. Should any perſon prove ſo raſh as to iſſue a warrant, contrary to his majeſty's deciſion, and therewith endeavour to ſurprize his majeſty (which in ſuch a multitude of expeditions, eaſily might happen), the ſame perſon ſhall, after trial and lawful judgement, be removed from his place, and puniſhed as the crime deſerves. Nor ſhall, therefore, any warrant be hereafter, more than hitherto, obeyed and executed, without due counterſignation, except in military affairs. This college is beſides to follow the ordinance of the chancery, the inſtructions, writs, and royal ſtatutes, which are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XXII. His majeſty denominates in the ſenate, but without voting, the preſident of the chancery, the counſellors of chancery that are ſenators, the chancellor of the court, the chancellor of juſtice, the ſecretaries of ſtate, the counſellors of chancery, as well as the ſecretaries of expeditions, and chuſes them to whom his majeſty has the beſt truſt. In the ſame manner his majeſty's envoys to foreign courts are to be conſtituted.

XXIII.

XXIII. The fifth college of the realm is the College of the Chamber, which has a preſident and the uſual counſellors of the chambers. There all who have any buſineſs with the income and expences of the king and crown, are to receive their order and give their accounts, according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, hitherto iſſued, or which may hereafter be enacted. The care and endeavour of this college ſhall be to ſee that the rents and taxes be duly and ſeaſonably gathered and encreaſed, the ground well cultivated and improved by a good tillage and huſbandry, in order that the *Regalia Fiſci* may not be neglected, forfeited and purloined; but the ſubſtance of the realm by all means amended, adapted to the expences, kept in order, and in due time received, ſo that the public credit may not be loſt; but that his majeſty, in caſe of need, can depend upon aid and aſſiſtance as well within the kingdom as abroad. The great cuſtom-houſe, with its receipt and accounts, as well as the petty land-tolls and the exciſe, appertain likewiſe, under the inſpection of a chief director, to the care of the college of the chamber, where commiſſions are to be given to the reſpective cuſtom-houſe officers and gatherers, and due ſecurity for his majeſty to be obſerved.

XXIV. In the Exchequer is to be a preſident and the uſual commiſſioners of the exchequer. Hereunto belongs the diſpoſition and diſtribution of the caſh of the crown; and here likewiſe every one that handles the king's money, in due time ought to come in with their accounts (Fœrſlag) according to what their inſtructions ordain. The eſtimates muſt alſo in due time every year be ſettled, and thereby the eſtabliſhment, or liſt of the year 1696, be the baſis and rule; and care be taken, that the officers may be paid out of the incomes and coffers of the crown.

But

But the aforeſaid liſt may not be exceeded or augmented, ſhould not the unavoidable ſervice and intereſt of the king and the kingdom require it. In the liſt ſhall not only ſubſiſt the determined ſum for his majeſty's privy purſe, which always is left to his majeſty's particular will and diſpoſition, but alſo a ſum annually to be appropriated to extraordinary iſſues, and managed after his majeſty's underwritten and counterſigned order: the whole, according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be enacted.

XXV. His majeſty denominates in the ſenate, but without voting, the preſident and the commiſſioners of the Exchequer, out of ſuch perſons as, by faithfulneſs and ſkill in this intereſting matter, have proved themſelves worthy of his majeſty's truſt.

XXVI. The college of the Mines ſhall likewiſe have a preſident and the uſual counſellors and aſſeſſors; all ſuch perſons, who by learning and experience have made themſelves qualified to be officers of judicature, and alſo have acquired a ſolid knowledge in metallurgic matters, and all the ſciences thereto belonging. This college has inſpection and care of all what concerns the riſe and improvement of the mines and forges.

XXVII. The College of Commerce has alſo a preſident, the uſual counſellors, aſſeſſors and commiſſioners, who have a conſummate knowledge in the matters of commerce and trade. It is the incumbent duty of this college to take care that the commerce may proſper and increaſe, that the manufactures may be ſupported, the work-houſes well regulated and maintained, and duty (Licent) portory, cuſtom-ordinances and taxes obſerved;

over

over and above what inſtructions, writs, and ſtatutes, as are at preſent preſcribed, or hereafter ſhall be ordained.

XXVIII. The Reviſion of the Chamber muſt likewiſe have a preſident, who, with the uſual members, takes care, not only that all juridical affairs, there depending, may be lawfully judged and executed by the ſerjeants at law, but alſo that the annual accounts of the crown, without any delay, from that very time they are ſent to the Royal College of the Chamber, and the Reviſion of the Chamber takes notice thereof, may be ſurveyed, explained, elaborated, and finally decided; all according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, which are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XXIX. The Lord High Steward of the Realm is one of the ſenators, in whoſe inſpection, his majeſty's court, palace, and houſehold are, and who rules, keeps, and takes care of his table and ſervants of the court, with all what thereto belongs.

XXX. His Majeſty's Court and Houſehold is to be at his own peculiar diſpoſition; his majeſty alone being able to alter, change, and reform whatever he ſhould find neceſſary.

XXXI. The grand governor (Ofver-Ståthallare) of Stockholm, the captain-lieutenant, lieutenant and quarter-maſter of the lifeguard-man, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the foot-guard, and alſo the colonel of the horſe-guard, the colonel of the life-dragoons, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the artillery, the general-adjutants

adjutants and the commandants of the frontier towns, are all charges of truſt, which his majeſty grants or recalls in ſitting ſenate, yet without voting.

XXXII. All the colleges are bound to aſſiſt each other in all what can be conducive to the good and emolument of the king and the kingdom, whenever it ſhall be required and neceſſary: yet one college muſt not incroach, or do any hindrance and prejudice to the other; but each attend to its buſineſs with due activity, care, ſedulity, faith, and prudence. The preſidents, when they are preſent in their colleges, enjoy their due power and authority; but when they are abſent in the king's, or their own private affairs, although they then keep the title and honour due to their quality, yet they cannot order, diſpoſe, and command any thing that belongs to the charge of preſidents, till they ſhall return and be ſeated in their regular function. During their abſence, the eldeſt member of the college performs, with equal right, authority, and effect, all what is adherent to the charge. The colleges are accountable to the king for their behaviour when he requires, and ſhall anſwer nobody but him alone for their adminiſtration.

XXXIII. The regency of the provinces is eſtabliſhed in certain governments juſt as they now are conſtituted; ſo that there never, for the future, ſhall be any general-governor in this realm, if not on a very peculiar emergency, and then for a ſhort time: alſo ſhall there no appanage, province, or government be beſtowed; but the provinces ſhall be divided in the ſame governments they now, according to the Form of Regency de Anno 1720, actually are.

XXXIV.

XXXIV. The prince heir apparent to the crown of Sweden, and alſo the princes of the royal Swediſh blood, cannot have any appanage, or general-government, but muſt depend upon ſuch annual allowance that can be allotted them from the Exchequer, which money, for the hereditary princes, muſt not be leſs than one hundred thouſand dollars S. mt. * from the day they ſhall be declared of age, which is at twenty-one years. The princes of the Swediſh blood, who are more diſtant from the crown, ſhall have ſuch an annual penſion for their maintenance, as can be convenient and ſuitable to their birth. Yet they can be diſtinguiſhed with the titles of duchies, as in old times has been in faſhion; but without any right to thoſe provinces whoſe name they bear, which always ſhall be incorporated under one head and ruler, without any diminution or ſeparation.

XXXV. Concerning the ſuſtenance of the prince royal, who always is the reigning king his eldeſt ſon, or grandſon, in a direct deſcending line, it muſt be beſtowed in the ſame manner as eſtabliſhed for the late king Adolphus Frederichus his ſon's, our now reigning moſt gracious king's Guſtavus's the III. annual maintenance. And when he is come to the age of eighteen years, he ſhall be admitted into the council of the king.

XXXVI. No prince of rhe Swediſh blood, although he may be prince royal, or hereditary prince, or of a more diſtant line, may marry without the king's knowledge and conſent. In the caſe any one ſhould contravene, he ſhall be judged after the Swediſh law, and the children be diſinherited.

* About £. 4166.

XXXVII.

XXXVII. The king being ſick, or abſent upon a long journey, then the regency is to be adminiſtred by thoſe of the ſenate, whom the king has denominated for that purpoſe: but if the king ſhould fall ſick ſo ſuddenly that he cannot give any orders how the affairs of the realm ſhould be managed, then all the warrants and decrees are to be ſigned by the four eldeſt ſenators and the preſident of the chancery: theſe five together are to exerciſe the royal power in all affairs that require a quick diſpatch; but they are not intitled to denomination of employments, nor to conclude alliances, before the king being ſo reſtored to health, that he himſelf can take in hands the affairs of government; and then theſe ſhall be accountable to the king how buſineſs has been diſpatched. But if the king dies, and the prince royal is under age, then the government of the realm is to be adminiſtred in the manner above-mentioned, unleſs that the late king had made any teſtamentary diſpoſition; in which caſe it ſhall be according to the king's ſaid teſtament.

XXXVIII. The ſtates of the realm muſt not fail to convene, when called by the king, on time and place indicated, there to conſult with his majeſty on ſuch affairs, whereabout his majeſty deſires their meeting. Nobody elſe but the king alone ſhall have the power to call the ſtates to a public diet, except in the minority of the king; then the tutors * exerciſe this power. But if the crown ſhould happen to be vacant by the extinction of the whole royal family on the male ſide (for which ſad event the gracious God beware!), then the ſtates of the kingdom are bound, without any convocation, on the 30th day after the death of the king, of themſelves to

* Guardians.

meet

meet at Stockholm, according to our act of convention, de dato Junii 23d, 1743; which act alſo expreſſes the penalty on whoſoever in that caſe ſhould endeavour, with practices and conſpiracies, to incroach upon the free election of the ſtates. In that unhappy event, it is incumbent on the wardens of the houſe of nobles, the chapter of Upſala, and the court of magiſtrates at Stockholm, inſtantly to publiſh it, in all the provinces, for the knowledge of all who are concerned; and whereas the provincial governors then are obliged, each in his territory, to make known the demiſe of the king to all the inhabitants, it is expected, that ſo many will be preſent before the appointed time, that they may be able to ſave and defend the liberty of the country, and a new ſucceſſor to the crown be choſen.

XXXIX. The ſtates of the kingdom are bound, with faithful concern, to leave intemerate all the royal prerogatives, after the dictates of the Swediſh law, ſo that they ſhall be kept in their full vigour and ſtrength, in order that all what in ſuch manner appertains to the royal authority ſhall be zealouſly and carefully maintained, defended, and ſtrengthened; wherefore, nothing of theſe fundamental laws is to be reformed, augmented or diminiſhed, without the concert and agreement of the king, on purpoſe that no unlawfulneſs might render invalid the enacted law, or the liberty of the ſubjects, together with the king's rights, be invaded and ſubdued; but each be in poſſeſſion of his due rights and privileges: to that end all the ſtatutes, from the year 1680 till this preſent time, which have been conſidered as fundamental laws, in virtue of this ſhall be abrogated and rejected.

XL. The king ſhall have no power to make new laws without

without the knowledge and aſſent of the ſtates, nor abrogate an old one received formerly.

XLI. The ſtates ſhall have no power to abrogate old laws, nor to make new ones, without the king's conſent and approbation.

XLII. When a new law is to be ſettled, the following method ſhall be obſerved: if the ſtates of the realm wiſh for a new ſtatute, then they are to conſult among themſelves, and after they are come to agreement, the project is to be preſented to his majeſty by their four ſpeakers, for to perceive the king's ſentiment. His majeſty thereupon aſks the advice of the ſenate; and when he himſelf has pondered it, and fixed his reſolution, he calls the ſtates to public meeting in the Great-hall (Riks-Salen), and gives them, in a ſhort ſpeech, his conſent and agreement, or elſe the reaſons for his refuſal. But if the king ſhould propoſe a new law, he is at firſt to communicate it to the ſenate; and when the ſenators have given their advice to the protocol, the whole matter is to be delivered to the ſtates, who, after having conſulted, and come to an agreement amongſt themſelves, aſk for a day to preſent their conſent to his majeſty in the Great Hall: but if it happens to be a refuſal, then they deliver their reaſons for it in writing by their four ſpeakers.

XLIII. If there ſhould be raiſed ſome new queſtion about the true meaning of the law, as in former times frequently has happened, then it ſhall be decided in the ſame manner as in the 42d article here above is enacted.

XLIV. Although it always is an appurtenance to the Crown to coin money, yet the ſtates have reſerved themſelves,

ſelves, when any raiſing or debaſing of the ſtandard, or intrinſic value, ſhould be deſigned or undertaken, that ſuch a reformation ſhall not come to paſs without their knowledge and agreement.

XLV. The king is to defend and ſave the country, particularly from foreign and hoſtile invaſion; but he cannot againſt the tenor of the law, his royal oath and aſſurance, levy any aids for war, new taxes, enrolling of men, or other duties, without the knowledge of the ſtates, and their free will and conſent: yet, that unhappy caſe excepted, when the kingdom ſhould be attacked by an army, then his majeſty has power to take ſuch meaſures, for the ſecurity of the realm, as he ſhall judge convenient for the good of his ſubjects; but as ſoon as the war is finiſhed, the ſtates muſt be called, and the new taxes in behalf of the war quite aboliſhed.

XLVI. The aſſemblies of the ſtates are not to ſubſiſt longer than at moſt three months: and in order to avoid that the country being aggrieved by the expences of long diets, as has happened heretofore, the king is empowered, after that time, to diſſolve the aſſembly, and ſend away the deputies each to his own home; and if, in the like occaſion, no new ſubſidies were granted, the old ones then are to ſubſiſt.

XLVII. The ſtates are intitled to denominate and chuſe the perſons who are to be ſeated in thoſe committees, with which the king will pleaſe to conſult about ſuch buſineſs as he deſigns ſhall be kept ſecret. Theſe members are inveſted with all that right and authority which appertains to the ſtates themſelves: but all matters that can be publiſhed ſhall be communicated to the ſtates, and imparted to their deliberation.

XLVIII. The king has no power to wage war without the aſſent and agreement of the ſtates.

XLIX. No other minutes, but of ſuch affairs that have been under the deliberation of the king with the ſtates, can be required or delivered to them.

L. The ſtate and condition of the Exchequer ſhall be laid open before the ſtates of the realm, in order to take cognizance that the public money has been ſpent to the good and welfare of the country.

LI. If a member of the ſtates, during the diet, or on his journey to or from the diets, ſhould be injured and wronged with words and deeds, when he has made known that he is in that quality and buſineſs, it ſhall be puniſhed as a breach of the king's peace.

LII. His majeſty aſſures to maintain all the ſtates of the kingdom in their duly acquired old privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties: and alſo, no new privileges for any one of the ſtates, without the knowledge, advice, and conſent of all the four ſtates, ſhall be given or imparted.

LIII. To his majeſty's gracious care alone the German provinces are left, that they may be governed according to the Laws of the empire, and the tenor of the treaty of Weſtphaly.

LIV. The cities and towns of the kingdom are to remain in their duly acquired privileges and rights, which were granted and given them by former kings; yet ſo, that they are to be fitted and adapted to the cir-

cumſtances of the times, for the good and advantage of the commonwealth.

LV. The bank of the ſtates is to remain hereafter as before, under their guarantee, and at their own diſpoſition, ſo that it is to be adminiſtered according to the rules and ſtatutes already enacted, or ſuch as the ſtates will eſtabliſh for the future.

LVI. The caſh of penſions belonging to the army ſhall remain, according to the ordinances already confirmed, or ſuch as his majeſty, with the faithful military commanders and deputies from the regiments, will agree to.

LVII. If this Law in any point ſhould be found obſcure, the literal contents muſt be obſerved, till the king and the ſtates, in the manner expreſſed hereabove, articles XXXIX. and XLII. ſhall agree upon the true ſenſe.

All this, We, now here aſſembled States, have judged neceſſary for the regular government of the realm, our liberty and ſecurity, to ratify and enact for us, our abſent fellow-ſubjects, our poſterity born and unborn. We declare and proteſt hereby anew, that we bear the greateſt abhorrence to a king's deſpotic power, or the ſo-called ſovereignty; deeming that our higheſt felicity, honour, and advantage, to be and dwell free and ſelf-independent, law-giving but law-obſerving ſtates, under the ſway of a king in power, but bound to the law; both of us tied together and protected by the law, who preſerves us and our dear country from the dangers which are the ſad effects of diſorder, licentiouſneſs, deſpotiſm, and an Ariſtocratic government of many, to the detriment of the whole ſociety, and to the grievance and

diſtreſs of every ſubject. We are ſo much the more aſſured to have an orderly, lawful, and happy government, as his majeſty has declared, that he will regard it as his greateſt honour to be the firſt citizen amongſt a free people; and we are hopeful that the like ſentiments will be propagated in the Royal Family, from father to ſon, till the lateſt times of the world. Therefore we declare enemy to us and the country whoever ſhall be ſo imprudent and malignant a fellow-ſubject, as to endeavour to draw us off from this ſanction by cheat and craft, ſecret plots or open violence, in order to intrude upon us royal deſpotiſm or ſovereignty; or, under the pretence and ſhow of liberty, overthrow theſe laws, which, when they corroborate a true and uſeful liberty, ſhut the doors to licentiouſneſs and confuſion. Whoever it may be, ſhall be puniſhed without mercy, according to the plain law of Sweden. We aſſure alſo, in virtue of our ſworn fealty and this form of government, that we ſhall keep loyal obedience to his majeſty, fulfil his orders in all that is due and warrantable before God and men, for him to command, and for us to do, all rights being ſafe, that belong to him and ourſelves, as it becomes faithful men and ſubjects.

Signed and ſealed in Stockholm the 21ſt day of Auguſt, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour 1772.

For the Nobility.
A. G. LEIONHUFWUD.
h. t Landtmarſhal.
(L. S.)

For the Clergy.
AND. H. FORSSENIUS.
Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Burghers.
JOH. H. HOCHSCHILD.
In the place of the Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Peaſantry.
JOSEPH HANSSON.
Speaker.
(L. S.)

All

All this here above written, We ourſelves not only receive as a firm fundamental law, but We ordain likewiſe, and enjoin all who are bound to Us and our Succeſſors to the reign, with fidelity, allegiance, and loyalty, to acknowledge, keep, and obey this form of government. For the more certainty, We have ſigned this with our own hand, and cauſed Our Royal Seal to be put hereunder, at Stockholm, the 21ſt day of Auguſt, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour one thouſand ſeven hundred and the ſeventy-ſecond.

GUSTAVUS.

N° II.

Value of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS from and to ENGLAND and RUSSIA, SWEDEN, and DENMARK, from CHRISTMAS 1778 to CHRISTMAS 1782.

	RUSSIA.		SWEDEN.		DENMARK.	
	Value of Exports.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.	Value of Imports.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1779	306,072 15 11	1,201,377 14 4	108,403 4 7	252,431 4 2	150,615 2 4	73,171 13 5
1780	161,031 10 5	1,150,429 12 11	49,678 10 5	144,180 17 1	156,085 19 5	86,731 4 4
1781	137,967 6 7	1,206,806 18 7	62,510 8 10	212,414 19 11	172,012 19 9	94,639 1 10
1782	196,577 9 10	1,185,844 14 4	56,083 2 7	163,219 7 11	164,732 2 4	73,038 9 2

N°. III.

N° III.

SWEDISH COMMERCE.

EXPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
COPPER plates, ordinary	22,308	11	11½
Copper, refined	26,579	2	7½
Hammered copper plates	90	13	0½
Large copper plates	1,979	3	0½
Old minted copper plates	42,798	1	3
Different ſorts of copper	1,572	3	0½
Braſs	2	1	11½
Braſs wire	39,079	5	7½
Braſs kettles	0	11	8
Different ſorts of braſs	112	2	2½
Iron anchors	2,343	10	10
Iron plates, tinned	1,079	16	11½
Iron plates, not tinned	23	6	8
Iron cannons	9,799	0	10
Balls	194	16	8
Iron pots	104	3	7½
Different ſorts of ſmaller bar iron	30,556	14	7
Ordinary bar iron	524,104	11	4½
Iron plates	15,329	0	5
Steel	7,528	5	10
Steel wire	54	0	5
Nails	8,677	10	7½
Ditto, coarſer	9,049	1	11½

	£.	s.	d.
Wrought iron of the finer ſort	5,776	3	6½
Ditto of the coarſer ſort	14,954	3	1½
Different ſorts of iron and ſteel	620	17	1
Axle-trees	307	16	10½
Beams of fir	1,496	11	4½
Ordinary deals	53,029	0	10
Thicker deals	12,802	14	0½
Planks of the thickeſt ſort	8,248	9	2
Lath	499	1	0½
Fir planks	208	8	9
Maſts	354	0	10
Rafters	23	1	0½
Thicker ſpars	79	15	8
Ditto, leſſer ſort	1,279	0	10
Laths	303	14	0½
Staves of beech wood	227	13	2½
Wood	421	0	2½
Ditto, manufactured	153	6	3
Lumber	1,101	3	11½
Different ſtones	4,027	4	0½
Furs	297	10	11½
Corn	588	11	6½
Victuals	754	3	1½
Herrings	84,453	1	8
Fiſh	286	9	10½
Cattle	335	5	3½
Sail cloth	4,054	10	11½
Linen	124	1	1½
Alum	9,954	6	0½
Common aſhes	229	16	8
Pot aſhes	8,282	1	11½
Pitch	32,354	2	1
Pitch oil	129	0	11½

Chalk

	£.	s.	d.
Chalk	4,476	15	3¾
Printed books	479	0	10
Guns and piſtols	19	19	9½
Herbs for dying yellow	12	6	8
Different ſorts of cordage	104	5	10
Gunpowder	4	15	11¾
Different kinds of furniture	152	0	3¾
Beer	298	0	10
Earthen ware	1,099	14	0¾
Collothar, or brown red	407	1	3
Fiſh oil	47,546	1	11¾
Tar	96,546	18	2¾
Saffron	1,743	5	2¾
Watches	304	5	7¾
Vitriol	52	5	10
New-built ſhips	17,295	15	1¾
Baulks	745	15	0
Silks	1,570	6	11¾
Different goods	1,280	19	2
Salt	8,799	1	3
Oak ſtaves	1,495	15	11¾
Wines	3,245	8	4
French brandy	335	0	10
Tobacco leaves	13,299	0	5
Tea	12,494	4	0¾
Oil of turpentine	99	16	8
White lead	37	5	10
Cochineal	1,995	14	0¾
Pepper	1,145	16	8
Sugar	154	15	3¾
Cinnamon	495	5	10
Nutmegs	154	16	11¾
Mace	76	10	5

Hemp

	£.	s.	d.
Hemp	174	12	9½
Flax	394	14	0½
Different other merchandizes	40,828	16	6½
Freights for exported goods upon Swediſh bottoms	118,341	18	1½
Total of Exports	£. 1,368,830	13	5

IMPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
Silks	15,528	9	0½
Cambrick	1,598	12	8½
Muſlin	618	6	6½
Indian cottons	4,859	3	0½
Different ſorts of thread and linen	14,449	9	5½
Printed cottons	6	1	4½
Cloth	23,952	0	0
Camphire	249	8	9
Galls	383	11	11½
Amber	44	11	3
Liquorice	587	6	8
Oil (coarſe)	9,658	16	1½
Quickſilver	248	14	10½
Turpentine	411	7	11
Wax	501	1	8
Tobacco in leaves	31,236	6	11½
Tobacco	14,146	7	4½
White lead	1,198	18	10½
Braſil wood	744	11	0½
Cochineal	2,122	15	5

Fernambuc

	£.	s.	d.
Fernambuc	956	6	9½
Indigo	7,751	11	1
Madder	2,436	7	3½
Cream of tartar	746	17	4½
Colours	13,994	11	8
Anchovies	273	11	1½
Coffee	29,857	16	4½
Rice	2,184	1	11½
Paper	6,858	8	6½
Linſeed	996	16	6½
Soap	874	2	1
Divers drugs	26,718	13	6½
Annis	437	4	5½
Cinnamon	224	19	2
Currants	282	17	8½
Figs	1,254	1	0½
Ginger	993	12	7½
Almonds	2,486	18	0½
Nutmegs	747	8	5½
Mace	961	15	7½
Cloves	224	1	8
Pepper	2,196	11	11½
Raiſins	5,028	14	2
Saffron	396	16	3
Plumbs	1,697	16	9½
Different grocery wares	411	6	10½
Sugar in powder	52,807	15	11½
Different ſorts of ſugar	54,569	0	6½
Peaſe	7,365	16	5½
Wheat	19,728	15	0
Rye	205,829	4	8½
Corn	34,028	6	11½
Malt	44,775	7	1

Oats

	£.	s.	d.
Oats	3,479	6	4¾
Wheat meal	40	6	9½
Gruaux	579	1	11½
Different ſorts of corn	1,025	17	2¼
Live cattle	8,195	3	7¾
Meat	2,198	11	3
Cheeſe	9,778	1	9¼
Hams	120	17	11
Salt meat	781	16	8
Dry meat	52	13	2¾
Butter	5,217	16	8
Tallow	14,297	6	4¼
Fiſh of different ſorts	8,114	16	0¾
Salt and dried fiſh	7,354	8	10¾
Fruits	2,470	15	8¾
Lead	5,004	1	3
Printed books	2,804	0	3¼
Calamine	979	11	11¼
Feathers	217	18	1½
Hair	2,735	0	7¾
Potters earth	1,808	15	5
Tin	4,280	6	11½
Wax candles	819	0	10
Pit coal	5,293	0	5
Different goods	14,981	18	9
French wine	18,546	11	8
Rheniſh wine	1,696	13	1½
Portugueſe and Spaniſh wine	1,998	11	3
Cider and vinegar	737	4	9½
Wines, liquors, &c.	23,399	8	0¾
Silk	24,779	0	10
Cotton	4,299	13	2¼
Cotton, thread	3,244	0	10
Ditto, worſted	1,731	1	8

Hides

	£.	s.	d.
Hides - - -	11,824	0	0
Hemp - - - -	57,926	10	5
Flax - - - -	29,107	17	7¼
Poliſh wool - - -	19,554	0	3¼
Spaniſh wool - -	3,029	4	10¼
Sole leather - -	12,327	10	10
Pot aſhes - - -	100	5	7¼
Linen thread - - -	2,818	5	11¼
Different rude materials -	18,886	17	7¼
Eaſt India goods conſumed in Sweden - - -	10,810	2	6
Freight paid to foreign ſhips -	6,301	0	2¼
Total of Imports - £.	1,008,392	12	4¼

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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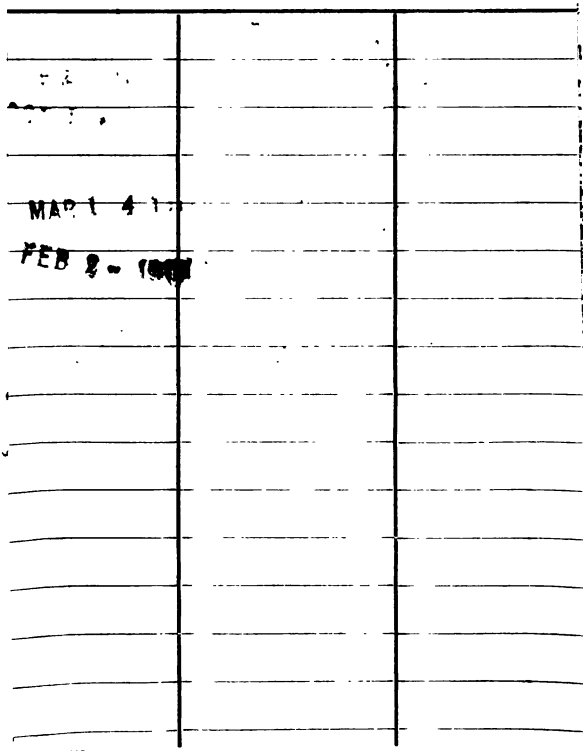

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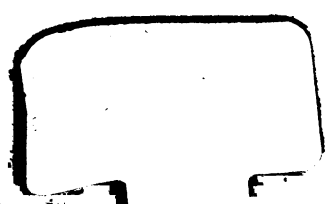
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